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HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY

OF

FRIENDS,

FROM ITS RISE TO THE YEAR 1828.

BY

SAMUEL M. JANNEY,

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN," "LIFE OF GEORGE FOX," ETC.

While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light. — JOHN xii. 36.

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HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CHAPTER I.

SEPARATION IN IRELAND, AND NOTICE OF HANNAH BARNARD.

1794–1803.

The Society of Friends in Ireland had for many years been on the decline. It was not only diminishing in numbers, but its spiritual condition was far from satisfactory. As early as the year 1762, James Gough, who had resided in that country twenty-four years, and was about to return to England, expressed in his Journal a mournful sense of the prevailing declension. After alluding to the worthy men and women of a former generation, who had kept their ranks in righteousness, he thus continues: "Of their survivors, on one hand a considerable number retained the ancient plainness of language and habit, and rigidly censorious of any deviation therefrom, valued themselves thereupon, as if it were the only test and badge of discipleship; while their hearts were gone after their covetousness in eagerly pursu-



ing and sordidly hoarding temporal wealth. On the other hand, a large body of youth and others shooting up in self-indulgence, in conformity to the world, and rushing headlong into the temptations of the times. Yet amid this inundation of negligence and revolt, there remain, in most places, a number of sincere-hearted Friends, a few worthy ministers and elders, but within these twenty years past, there has been a great alteration for the worse."

In the year 1794, at the national Half-year's Meeting held in Dublin, a committee that had been appointed to visit the meetings in Munster Province, reported that they had performed the service, and found "the state of things in that quarter generally very low, yet they were comforted in finding a remnant preserved in sundry places, bound to the law and the testimony." The meeting taking into consideration the state of the Society throughout the nation, and being pained at the many deficiencies apparent, appointed a committee to visit the meetings in the Province of Leinster. At the following Half-year's Meeting, in the spring of 1795, the committee reported that they had found the state of the Society in Leinster, "in the general, painfully low; too many being settled down at ease in their possessions, yet there were a few up and down engaged in honest labour for the welfare of the cause. They likewise had the encouraging prospect that some, among the youth, were measurably joining in with the divine visitations of truth to their minds."

At a meeting of ministers and elders of Carlow Monthly Meeting, in the Third month, 1797, Abraham Shackleton of Balitore, an influential elder of that meeting, being clerk, refused to read the advices

to ministers and elders issued by the Yearly Meeting, and directed to be read once in the year.

He stated the grounds of his objections as follows:

"That, as it was admitted, that the rightly qualified ministers among us speak from the immediate and direct revelation of the Holy Spirit, it must be highly improper to prescribe to them, or make rules for limiting their ministry with respect either to mode, matter, or time; that the advices proposed to be then read had a direct tendency to produce this effect,—and that the recommending of those advices must therefore be regarded as limiting the operation of the spirit, and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."[1]

In consequence of the clerk's refusal to read the advices, they were read by a female member of that meeting, though she also disapproved of them; and it appears that other members of the select meeting concurred in their objections. In order to convey an idea of the spirit that began to prevail in that meeting, the excellent advices, to which some of them objected, are here subjoined.

"ADVICES TO MINISTERS AND ELDERS.

I. Let all be cautious of using unnecessary preambles, and of laying too great stress on their testimony, by too positively asserting a divine motion; the baptizing power of truth accompanying the words, being the true evidence.

II. Let all be careful not to misquote or misapply the Holy Scriptures; and be frequent in reading them.

[1] Narrative of Events in Ireland, &c. London, 1804, p. 40. This work was written by William Rathbone, of Liverpool, and is believed to be entirely reliable.

III. Let ministers be careful how they enter upon disputed points in their testimony; or make such objections as they do not clearly answer; or give repeated expectations of coming to a conclusion.

IV. Let all be cautious of hurting meetings by unnecessary additions towards the conclusion, when the meeting was left well before.

V. Let all avoid unbecoming tones, sounds, gestures, and all affectation; which are not agreeable to Christian gravity.

VI. Men and women are cautioned against travelling as companions in the work of the ministry; to avoid all occasions of offence.[1]

VII. Let ministering Friends be careful not to hurt each other's service in meetings; but let every one have a tender regard for others. Let nothing be offered with a view to popularity; but in humility and the fear of the Lord.

VIII. Let none run in their own wills to disturb any people in their worship; or presume to prophesy in their own spirits, against any nation, town, city, people, or person.

IX. Let ministers, when they travel in the service of truth, be careful not to make their visits burthensome, or the gospel chargeable.

X. Let all beware of too much familiarity, which, biassing the judgment and producing an undue attachment, tends to hurt.

XI. Let ministers be careful to keep their whole conversation unspotted, being examples of meekness, temperance, patience, and charity.

[1] When women Friends travel as ministers, they take with them a female companion, and are usually accompanied by a man as caretaker.

XII. And lastly, as prayer and thanksgiving are an especial part of worship, they must be performed in spirit and in truth, with a right understanding, seasoned with grace. Therefore let ministers be careful how and what they offer in prayer, avoiding many words and repetitions; and let all be cautious of too often repeating the high and holy name of God, or his attributes, by a long conclusion: neither let prayer be in a formal and customary way to conclude a meeting; nor without an awful sense of divine influence. 1775–1792."[1]

These advices were doubtless suggested by experienced ministers, who had seen and felt the necessity of the care and caution they enjoined. May it not be said that, in this day, their strict observance by ministers everywhere, would, at times, be a great relief to their hearers?

The ground taken by Abraham Shackleton seems to imply, that "rightly qualified ministers" are infallible; but the whole history of the Christian Church proves the contrary. Those who have been rightly called and are at times favored with a measure of the holy anointing, should ever remember that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels," and unless the vessel be kept clean, the heavenly gift will lose a portion of its efficacy. The very best among ministers may sometimes need the advice and caution of their friends; for although the Spirit of Truth is unerring, man is always fallible, and consequently liable to misapprehend its dictates, unless he keep continually on the watch. The objections stated against the reading of the printed advices would apply equally well to advice or caution offered verbally by a mem-

[1] Extracts from "Minutes and Advices." London, 1802, p. 149.



ber or elder, and the result of this doctrine, if admitted, would be to confer on ministers an irresponsible authority in the church.

The first of the advices which cautions ministers against "asserting too positively a divine motion," is well worthy of attention; for "if the baptizing power of truth" accompanies the words, no other evidence is needed; but if this "true evidence" is wanting, the highest professions of divine authority will be of no avail.

The reference made in the last of the advices, to "a right understanding, seasoned with grace," is in accordance with the language of the apostle Paul, "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also."

It appears that the opposition felt to the advices to ministers and elders, was not confined to the select meeting at Carlow; for at the next Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, held at Mountmeleck, information was received that at two other select meetings within that Quarter, the reading of those advices had also been disapproved, and that the objections urged against them were substantially the same.

Several members of the select Quarterly Meeting were much dissatisfied with this opposition to a long established practice that had been enjoined by the Yearly Meeting held at London, and likewise by the National Half-year's Meeting of Ireland; but the objections to the advices having been urged by active and influential members, it was deemed expedient not to prosecute the subject further at that time.

At the Quarterly Meeting of general discipline for the province of Leinster, which immediately ensued,

another subject for dissension was brought up, having its rise at Carlow, and doubtless originating with the same individuals.

On reading the answer to the fourth query, which relates, in part, to the "frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures," it was observed, that in the answer from Carlow Monthly Meeting, the word *holy* was omitted. This omission excited much emotion, and inquiry was immediately made into the cause of it. The purport of the answer to this inquiry was, that the spirit of truth inwardly revealed in the heart of every man, is that alone which can and will lead its followers into all truth; that a disposition had lately been manifested to lose sight of this fundamental principle of the Society while affixing an undue value upon the Scriptures,—and that the distinguishing of them by the term Holy has a tendency to exalt them in our estimation as highly as the spirit of truth itself. It was moreover stated, that, although many parts of the Scriptures are truly excellent, other parts of them are objectionable. These remarks gave great pain and were generally disapproved.

The objections urged against the Scriptures and the use of the term Holy, as applied to them, afford painful evidence that the humble, earnest, devotional spirit which characterized the early Friends, had been succeeded by a critical and speculative disposition, that never can win souls to God, nor build up a religious society; but on the contrary, by introducing disputes about non-essentials, is well calculated to lay waste.

In regard to the term Holy, it may be observed, that it was applied to the Scriptures by the Apostle Paul, and was doubtless intended to distinguish them

from all other writings, because they relate chiefly to sacred or spiritual things. The same term was applied by the Jews to their temple and its vessels, —to their altars, and to all that was connected with their religion. It may be considered, in some sense, a technical term, the use of which is well understood, and clear of any tendency to superstition.

There is abundant evidence to show that the early Friends, although they often wrote from a sense of religious duty, and believed they were at times aided by divine grace, did not presume to put their writings on a level with the Scriptures, nor has the Society in any stage of its history given the least countenance to such pretensions.

The Society in Ireland had, from the year 1670, held its national meetings twice in the year; but in 1797, the Winter Half-year's Meeting was discontinued, and thenceforth a Yearly Meeting was held, commencing the last First-day in the Fourth month. A large committee was then appointed to represent the Yearly Meeting during its recess, to attend to any matter that might arise relative to the Society, and to receive any written communications that should be sent by the Yearly Meeting of London. At the same time the nature of the connection between the National Yearly Meeting of Ireland and that of Great Britain was taken into consideration. It had been the practice in the National Meeting in Ireland to appoint representatives and transmit answers to the queries to the Yearly Meeting held in London, and yet the former did not hold itself bound by the rules and constitutions of the latter. If any new rules were adopted by London Yearly Meeting, they were read in the subsequent Yearly Meeting held at Dub-

lin, but were not considered binding on the meetings in Ireland until adopted there. The rules of discipline in the two yearly meetings were in general similar, but in some cases they were different.

It was only "in *matters of faith and principle*," that the Dublin Yearly Meeting was subordinate to that of London, as appears by the following minute, adopted by the latter in the year 1760, viz.:

"The Friends of Ireland, by a letter from their last National Meeting, and also by their representatives present, have earnestly requested to be excused from attending appeals against them to this meeting, except in matters of faith and principle, wherein they desire not to be excused; but having urged many hardships and inconveniences, which they apprehend must attend their following appeals in other cases, this meeting, upon solid and deliberate consideration of their request, in much brotherly condescension agrees thereto, until some manifest inconvenience shall be found to arise from such exemption."[1]

This connection had long been considered by the Irish Friends as a kind of solecism, being different from any that existed elsewhere, and in the year 1797, the National Meeting in Ireland sent to the Yearly Meeting in London the following proposition:

"We propose to the Yearly Meeting for its deliberation and judgment, whether it is consistent for us to continue to send representatives thereto, and answer its queries, while we do not consider ourselves bound by any minute made therein, unless adopted by this meeting."

This minute was read in the Yearly Meeting of

[1] Extracts from Minutes and Advices, &c., London, 1802, p. 4.

London, and its further consideration postponed to the following year.

In the latter part of the same year, a discussion took place between Abraham Shackleton and Samuel Woodcock, both elders of Leinster Quarterly Meeting, concerning the Jewish wars and other historical facts recorded in the Old Testament.

This controversy was conducted with some warmth of temper, and was construed into a breach of unity between the two elders. Their case was accordingly mentioned at the succeeding Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, and a committee was appointed to confer with them. Abraham Shackleton was censured on account of the sentiments he had advanced, and some blame was imputed to Samuel Woodcock for the acrimony of his expressions.

It would have been well for the Society, had the investigation rested here; for the breach was widened by agitation, and others became involved in its consequences. At two successive Quarterly meetings of ministers and elders, the subject was resumed, and it being intimated that opinions similar to those advanced by Abraham Shackleton were held by others standing in the station of elders, it was concluded to forward this information to the Select Meeting connected with the National Yearly Meeting, then approaching.

At the National Yearly Meeting, held in Dublin, in the spring of 1798, it was stated "that there were reasons to fear that a disposition to undervalue the Scriptures and to produce schism, was gaining ground in the Society; and in consequence thereof a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the Society in these and other respects." At a

subsequent sitting of the same Yearly Meeting, the following minute was adopted, viz.:

"On reading the answers to the usual queries from the three provinces, that part of the fourth respecting the reading of the Holy Scriptures came particularly under consideration, from an apprehension that some *difference in sentiment from the general part of Friends*, hath appeared in regard to the use and advantage of these records; and this meeting feeling the necessity of our being united as a religious society *in faith and principle*, appointed a committee to inspect into the state of our Society in this respect, as well as any other which may regard the welfare of any other part of our Christian testimonies, who brought in the following report, which being twice read was agreed to by this meeting:—

"The committee, to whom was referred the consideration of the state of our Society in regard to reading the Holy Scriptures, report, that we met, and, in company with a number of women Friends, took the same into our solid consideration; and are sorrowfully convinced that a disposition hath appeared in some of our Society, tending to produce schism, and to weaken the general testimony and belief, which we as a people have maintained as to the origin, use, and advantage of these records. We are of the judgment that this disposition hath spread, and extended itself to the injury of many; and, without desiring to point out these writings, as being more than a *secondary* rule *subordinate* to the spirit of Truth, from whence they have all their excellency and certainty, we think it right that a standard should be lifted up against this spirit of speculation and unbelief; and recommend, that Friends everywhere be watchful

against it, and, by example in their own families, have a due regard to the frequent reading of them; and where any have manifested *opinions contrary to the general sense of the body*, it is our judgment, that they be timely laboured with, in a spirit of love and Christian tenderness, to reclaim them; but if, after due labour and patience, these do not become sensible of their error, but persist in maintaining such sentiments and doctrines, and do not condemn their conduct, that Monthly meetings, with the advice and assistance of their Quarterly meetings, proceed further as in the wisdom of Truth they may be directed to testify against them as being out of the unity of Friends."

After adopting this report, the meeting proceeded to appoint a committee to visit the Quarterly, Monthly and other meetings of Friends in Ireland. This measure met with considerable opposition in the Yearly Meeting; several of the most active members, then present, joined in warning their brethren against proceeding in the visit, as they believed it would increase dissension by the continued agitation of controverted questions. The advocates of the measure insisted upon its execution, and thus, without unity of sentiment or general concurrence, a committee was appointed to promote uniformity of opinion. The minute and report adopted by the National Meeting, were far from explicit; it proposed that those who "*manifested opinions contrary to the general sense of the body*," should be dealt with, and if they did not condemn their conduct, should be testified against,—that is, disowned from membership. No clear definition or description of the obnoxious opinions, nor of "the general sense of the body," was given; and

consequently it was left to Monthly meetings and their committees to decide on the orthodoxy of their members. It was acknowledged by all, that the Scriptures are only "a secondary rule subordinate to the spirit of Truth," and both parties claimed the guidance of the spirit as their primary rule. As there are different stages of spiritual growth among individual members, and a natural diversity of mental constitutions, there will always be some variety of opinion on religious subjects in every society. Uniformity of opinion is not attainable in the present condition of mankind, and, for aught we know, may never have been intended by the Author of our being, who, in all his works, has manifested a wonderful variety. An attempt to enforce entire uniformity of belief, was the rock on which the Protestant reformers split, and which the early Friends had the wisdom to avoid. In the days of George Fox they were remarkably tolerant; but in succeeding times, as the bond of Christian love grew weaker, a greater reliance upon rules of discipline became manifest.

It is obvious, however, that in all organized bodies, and especially in Christian churches, there must be some points of agreement that should be deemed essential, while on other points of less importance there may be allowed a considerable diversity of opinion. In the Society of Friends, from its first rise, there were three points chiefly insisted on, viz., Immediate Revelation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Authenticity of the Scriptures. In regard to the last of these doctrines it may be observed, that the Friends held the sacred writings "subordinate to the spirit of Truth, from which they derived all their excellency and certainty," and in the interpretation

of these writings they allowed considerable diversity of sentiment.

In the printed epistle of London Yearly Meeting, issued in 1728, the following passage is found: —

"Inasmuch as the Holy Scriptures are the external means of conveying and preserving to us an account of the things most surely to be believed concerning our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh and the fulfilling of the prophecies relating thereto, we therefore recommend to all Friends, especially elders in the Church and masters of families, that they would both by example and advice, impress on the minds of the younger, a *reverent esteem of those sacred* writings, and advise them to a frequent reading and meditating thereon; — and that you would at proper times and seasons, when you find your minds rightly disposed thereunto, give the youth to understand that the same good experience of the work of sanctification through the operations of the spirit of God, which the Holy Scriptures plentifully bear testimony to, is to be witnessed by believers in all generations, as well as by those in the first ages of Christianity; in which case some account of your own experience may be helpful to them. And this we recommend as the most effectual means of begetting and establishing in their minds a firm belief of the Christian doctrine in general, as well as the necessity of the aid and help of the operations of the Holy Spirit of God in the hearts of men in particular, contained in that most excellent book the Bible; and of preserving them from being defiled with the many pernicious notions and principles contrary to such sound doctrine, which are at this time industriously dispersed in the nation, to the reproach of the Christian profession in general."

This paragraph is embodied in the book of discipline of London Yearly Meeting, first printed in 1783. As the Yearly Meeting of Dublin was subordinate to that of London "in matters of faith and principle," this advice must have had great weight, and was, doubtless, in accordance with the views of Friends in Ireland at the time it was adopted.

It is obvious that Abraham Shackleton, and other elders who agreed with him in sentiment, could not impress on the minds of the younger members "a reverent esteem of the sacred writings;" for they did not themselves feel that esteem. Not being in unity with the Society in this particular, they were disqualified for the eldership, and should have been released from that station. It does not follow, however, as a necessary consequence, that they should have been disowned from membership; for it appears to have been admitted, that their conduct was circumspect and exemplary.

In appointing elders and overseers, as well as in acknowledging a gift in the ministry, regard should be had to those qualities that will promote the harmony and spiritual health of the body. It is obvious that no organized body, whether civil or religious, should appoint for its officers those whose acknowledged sentiments are in opposition to its constitutional provisions.

In addition to the causes of dissension already recited, a number of the members were dissatisfied with the conduct and religious services of some who stood as acknowledged ministers. Among these, David Sands, from the State of New York, then on a religious visit in Ireland, was one whose ministry was approved by one party in the meetings, and se-

verely censured by another. Some of those who dissented from his doctrines, and disapproved of his ministry, expressed their dissent by refusing to rise or uncover their heads when he appeared in public supplication. Their refusal being at variance with the advice of the Yearly Meeting, issued in 1723 and embraced in the book of discipline, was considered an offence that required the notice of the Monthly Meeting. On this ground, disciplinary visits were made, on behalf of Dublin Monthly Meeting, to five of its members, one of whom was an elder, and another an overseer. The two latter were displaced from their stations, and a minute made by the Meeting that none of these Friends should be appointed to any service in the discipline of the Society. John Barrington, one of the five who were thus disqualified, afterwards declined the attendance of meetings, and was disowned. William Barrington, of Dublin, was disowned for refusing to be amenable to the rules of the Society, principally in declining to stand up and take off his hat in meetings for worship during public prayer.

Thomas Bewley, of Dublin, resigned his station as an elder in the year 1799, assigning as his motive that he "was dissatisfied with the rigorous proceedings of the Friends of the Select Meeting first, and of the Monthly Meeting afterwards, against certain persons of estimable character, who thought it right not to acknowledge the ministry of David Sands, and kept their seats whilst he was engaged in public prayer. The whole of the proceedings against these Friends was disapproved of by him, and, therefore, he did not choose to retain his place in the Select Meeting, the members of which differed so materially

from him in sentiment; and from that time he pretty much ceased to be active in discipline." As David Sands had, the year previous, made his home at the house of Thomas Bewley during a sickness of near ten weeks, it may be inferred that they were, or had been, personal friends.[1]

Susannah and Mary Bewley (sisters of Thomas), Lydia (the wife of Abraham) Shackleton, of Ballitore, and Abigail Haughton, of Carlow, all of whom were elders, resigned their stations, and the two former relinquished their membership.

The opposition to David Sands appears to have been chiefly, if not wholly, confined to those who dissented, in some points of doctrine and discipline, from the prevailing sense of the body. There is reason to believe that his course of proceeding in that critical juncture was not always courteous nor judicious; but there is evidence to show that among Friends generally he was still esteemed as a gospel minister. William Savery, who was in Ireland during part of the time that David Sands sojourned there, attended a number of meetings with him, and mentions particularly in his Journal an appointed meeting at Cork, in which he says: "David Sands had a good testimony, and closed the meeting in prayer. I believe that, through mercy, the Truth was in dominion; the people were very quiet and attentive, said to be the most so ever remembered in Cork at those promiscuous meetings."

At Waterford, in Ireland, William Savery had an interview with Abraham Shackleton, as related in the following extracts from his Journal, under date First month, 1798: "8th. At my lodgings, in the

[1] Journal of D. Sands; N. Y. ed., 1848, p. 212.

evening, came Robert Greer and Abraham Shackleton; the latter from Ballitore, who had come forty-two miles in order to see me. He holds opinions of a singular nature; objects to the first five books of Moses in particular, but in general to the accounts of the Jews in the Old Testament and various parts of the New Testament; professes to think there is little if any need of books of any kind on religious subjects; that they only darken the mind, and keep it from turning itself wholly unto God, the fountain of all light and life. But of all books of a religious kind he especially dislikes Friends' journals, and has but a slight opinion of ministry and discipline, and all secondary helps in general; but is for having all people turned to the Divine Light in themselves alone. Christ, he says, was a good man—the leader of the people—because he was wholly obedient to this light, which he was in an especial manner filled with. He thinks the Evangelists are poor historians; that Paul brought much of his epistles from the feet of Gamaliel, and many parts of them are, therefore, rabbinical stuff; Christianity was the same to those who were obedient to the anointing before the coming of Christ in the flesh as since, &c. I perceived all this was accompanied with a pretended looking towards a greater state of perfection and redemption than our Society has yet arrived at. For my part, I could not see as he did, nor unite with him in his erroneous expressions and opinions, and I feel a fear that they will produce much hurt if he and others in this nation are not brought into deep abasement; his talents and morality making error in his hands more dangerous. We separated without much satisfaction, at least on my side.

"After retiring to rest, I could get but little sleep for some hours — Satan is indeed full of subtleties — who can discover them but He who dwelleth in and covereth himself with unapproachable light! I thought or dreamed, that I saw a man in a field, who appeared to be attempting to pluck up a few tares that were growing among choice wheat, but he pulled up more wheat than tares, and trod down abundance more with his feet; and I thought he had far better let them alone until the harvest.

"First month, 9th. Attended the week-day meeting: my mind was much exercised and heavy, but near the close was drawn forth in prayer, and afterwards felt peaceful. Went with Abraham Shackleton to a Friend's house, and opened to him more of my disapprobation than I had before. Attended the public meeting in the evening, which was large; much solemnity and quiet prevailed, and it ended in praises.

"10th. Stayed much at my lodgings, writing; and received a letter from Abraham Shackleton, in which he appears lovingly disposed towards me, but evidently wrong, so far as I am able to judge, in many of his opinions."[1]

In these remarks of an eminent and highly favored minister, there are several points worthy of especial attention. 1st. His decided disapproval of the erroneous sentiments expressed by Abraham Shackleton, — sentiments that must have a blighting effect upon the spiritual life of all who entertain them. 2dly. The friendly disposition afterwards manifested by A. Shackleton; from which we may infer that

[1] Friends' Library, Phila., Vol. I. p. 440.

William Savery, while plainly expressing his disapprobation, kept under the influence of that meek, Christian spirit which seeks by kindness to bring back the wandering sheep to the true fold. 3dly. The instructive lesson of the tares among the wheat, showing the injury done both to individuals and to the Church, by attempting injudiciously to eradicate error before the time, and without the guidance of heavenly wisdom.

The want of that charity which "suffereth long and is kind," was evinced in some of the subsequent proceedings of the Friends in Ireland, and the consequences were truly lamentable.

At the national Yearly Meeting held in Dublin in the year 1799, a minute was adopted recommending to the Quarterly and Monthly meetings to keep in view the advices of the previous year, in relation to the Scriptures and the prevalence of unsound opinions, and to extend a watchful care over their members, particularly the youth, to prevent the dissemination of sentiments of dangerous tendency. The committee appointed in 1798, made a report that they had visited the meetings generally, and the Yearly Meeting was "painfully affected" with the account given of the "weak and low situation of the Society." It does not appear that the labors of the committee had tended to promote "uniformity of opinion," but on the contrary much dissatisfaction was expressed.

It was proposed to appoint a committee to visit the meetings in the province of Ulster, and although it was opposed by some, on the ground that the visits of the other committee had been productive of no good, yet the proposition was carried and the

committee appointed. During the discussion, it was asserted that, while they were engaged in unavailing efforts "to induce uniformity of opinion respecting the Scriptures, there were numerous instances of flagrant deviation in conduct from the indispensable duties of the gospel, and the acknowledged principles of the Society, which continued to present strong claims upon the attention of such of its members as had the cause of genuine piety and virtue at heart."

In order to counteract erroneous opinions, an edition of Barclay's Apology was directed to be published.

At the Yearly Meeting held in London the same year, Thomas Fayle, the representative from Ireland, requested, by instruction of the Yearly Meeting of that nation, that their proposition, made in 1797, and which had hitherto been postponed, might now be withdrawn. This request being acceptable to the meeting was agreed to.

In the Ninth month, 1800, John Nicholson, of Belfast, a minister in the Society, declined the attendance of meetings for worship, and announced, first at a meeting in Lisburn, and afterwards at a public meeting of the Quarterly Meeting in Lurgan, that he should no longer consider himself a member of the Society. The Monthly Meeting of Lurgan accordingly made a minute disuniting him from the Society on account of these public declarations. In the Tenth month, John Hancock, of Lisburn, also an acknowledged minister, discontinued the attendance of meetings for worship, and in a letter he informed the Monthly Meeting, "that, after having faithfully warned them and testified against their wrong practices, as long as he felt the requirings of duty author-

izing him in this painful labour, he believed his duty lay in separating himself from them." In the succeeding month, a testimony against him was published by the Monthly Meeting of Lisburn. It recites as causes of complaint against him, "that he had latterly forsaken the attendance of their meetings; that he had frequently held meetings with those of other societies, without the consent of his Monthly Meeting; that he had given consent by his presence to a marriage accomplished by two of their members contrary to the rules of discipline; and that he had published a pamphlet entitled, 'Reasons for withdrawing from the Society of the people called Quakers,' containing animadversions on the Scriptures, and some doctrines therein, which, as a society, we have not unity with." He appears to have been an exemplary, conscientious man, but his doctrinal views on some points, and his unwillingness to conform to the rules of discipline, rendered his longer connection with the Society undesirable both to himself and to others.

The elders of the select Quarterly Meeting of Ulster, finding their oversight of the ministry disapproved, requested to be released from serving in that station, which was complied with, and the meetings of ministers and elders throughout the province of Ulster were thenceforth discontinued.

Five of those who had been released from the eldership, declined the attendance of meetings for discipline, and soon afterwards two other members and a minister resigned their membership, assigning as their motive dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Society and the conduct of its members.

At the National Yearly Meeting held in Dublin in the year 1801, a committee being appointed to

take the state of the Society in Ireland under consideration, brought in a report, which, after alluding to the weak condition of the meetings in Ulster, thus continues: "It appears that in divers parts of the nation there are some who decline the attendance of our religious meetings upon the grounds of disunity with them, and the manner in which they are held; that some are still in a disposition to undervalue the Scriptures of truth; and others have fallen into the practice of keeping their seats and keeping on their hats, when acknowledged ministers are engaged in public supplication." * * * "We are also informed of a painful instance having occurred in Ulster province, of two of their members having proceeded in a manner contrary to the comely order established amongst us, to take each other as husband and wife; and that sundry members of our Society were present on that occasion. We propose to the Yearly Meeting, that the Monthly Meeting, wherein such disorderly proceeding has taken place, may be recommended to be careful that our Christian discipline be properly *supported in the right line and spirit.*" The report also recommended that a committee be appointed to visit the Quarterly and Monthly meetings in the province of Ulster; which was agreed to, and five Friends appointed to that service.

In order to support the discipline "in the right line and spirit," it appears to have been thought necessary by the most influential members of the Yearly Meeting, to enforce rigidly the observance of all the advices in the book of discipline, under pain of disownment. The following minute of London Yearly Meeting is dated 1723. "This meeting, taking under its serious consideration the beauty

and credit of keeping decency and good order in our meetings for worship, *advises* Friends everywhere to avoid public opposition to a minister not disowned as such, by the Monthly or Quarterly meeting to which he or she shall belong, by keeping on their hats in time of prayer, or any other tokens of disunion."[1]

This minute, inserted in the book of discipline, does not authorize *disownment* for its non-observance.

In other religious societies the uncovering of the head on entering a place of worship was understood to imply that the place itself was holy ground; but this was considered by the early Friends inconsistent with the Christian doctrine that God "dwelleth not in temples made with hands," and therefore they declined to comply with the customary form. They believed, however, that the Apostle Paul had enjoined the uncovering of the head by *men* while engaged in public vocal prayer; and they considered it proper and becoming, that the congregation, uniting with the exercises of its acknowledged ministers, should observe the same practice.

Their judgment in this particular had been very generally approved by succeeding generations in the Society, but the observance of the practice is not one of those points that should be insisted on as essential to Christian communion. When such deviations proceed from a professed sense of duty, true wisdom would dictate forbearance on the part of the meeting, and close searching of heart on the part of the individual so deviating from a long-established practice.

The marriage alluded to in the report to the Yearly

[1] Extracts, &c., London, 1802, p. 97.

Meeting, was that of John Rogers, Jr., and Elizabeth Doyle.

After publishing their intentions, they took each other in marriage in the presence of a company of their friends, without the intervention of a priest or minister, but not in accordance with the discipline of the Society. Both being members, there was no reasonable excuse for this deviation from the established order, which is beautiful and salutary.

The Monthly Meeting of Lisburn issued a testimony of disownment against them for accomplishing their marriage contrary to the rules of discipline, and subsequently proceeded to deal with and disown five members who were witnesses of the ceremony and continued to justify their conduct. Five others of the witnesses, who belonged to different Monthly meetings, were also disowned on the same account.

Thus ten members of respectable standing in the Society, were cut off from membership for witnessing a marriage ceremony at variance with the rules of discipline. One of them, Mary, the wife of James Christy, soon after closed a life that had been distinguished for meekness and benevolence, by a serene and peaceful death, manifesting no regret for the step that had occasioned her disownment.[1] It cannot be said that she had violated any divine law, and it may be questioned whether a religious society is justifiable in excommunicating its members on any other ground than moral delinquency, or the open denial of some cardinal principle of Christianity.

It is, however, very obvious that members of a religious organization should endeavor to live in

[1] Narrative of Events in Ireland, p. 155.

accordance with its code of discipline, and when they believe its rules are defective, they should use proper measures for their amendment.

At the rise of the Society it was distinguished by fervency of spirit and brotherly love; but when the first and second generation of Friends had passed away, these engaging qualities were less operative in their successors, and there was a disposition manifested to rely too much upon the coercive power of the discipline, which, however good in itself when properly exercised, may be made an engine of oppression.

Some of the rules adopted interfered unnecessarily with the domestic concerns of the members, and even invaded their civil rights. Thus, for instance, the National Half-year's Meeting in Ireland adopted a minute in 1725, which directs that, "where parents are so indulgent (contrary to the advice given forth in 1680) as to *receive their children in*, (who go out to be married by a priest,) and give them *part of their substance*, without first advising with the men's meeting they belong to, such indulgent parents are to be deemed unfit to sit in men's or women's meetings [for discipline], until they give such satisfaction as the nature of the case may require." Again, in 1748, the National Meeting expressed its judgment, that "where parents have not consented to such marriage, yet if they afterwards *give portions*, *entertain*, or are *familiar with such children*, till Friends be sensible of true repentance in them, that they be closely dealt with," &c. These minutes were still in force up to the year 1804, and it is said, "were acted upon as rules for the conduct of the Society in Ireland."[1]

[1] Narrative of Events in Ireland, pp. 44, 45.

Such rules of discipline are revolting and unchristian in their character, and if carried out in practice, cannot fail to produce the most deleterious effects.

In addition to the disownments and resignations of Friends in Ireland, already noticed, a large number of others took place in the early part of this century, and it is not denied that many of the members thus lost to the Society, who had been highly esteemed before their separation, continued afterwards to lead exemplary lives. It is stated by a late English writer, that "the secession was extensive; we cannot furnish the numbers of those who were thus separated, but in some districts the Orthodox party lost all their ministers and elders, and the Society at large was left weak, stripped and unsettled."[1]

On reviewing this mournful chapter of events in Ireland, the conviction arises, that, although many persons in both parties intended to serve the cause of truth, yet, through unwatchfulness, prejudice, and passion, they both erred, and may justly be censured.

Those who were called Separatists, while professing a high degree of spirituality, indulged too much in speculative opinions *not* promotive of vital religion; they also undervalued the scriptures of truth, and manifested too little regard for the discipline of the Society and the advices of its superior meetings. On the other hand, those who adhered to the discipline were too tenacious in retaining rules which time and experience had shown to be inexpedient, and they were too rigid in the enforcement of them by the extreme penalty of disownment. They seemed to forget that the primary object of Christian discipline

[1] Rowntree's Prize Essay, London Ed., p. 131.

is to restore the wandering sheep to the fold. In order to effect this purpose, nothing will suffice but that "wisdom from above" which is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."

While the events just narrated were transpiring in Ireland, a painful interest was excited among Friends in England by the views of Hannah Barnard, and the course pursued towards her. This gifted woman was a member of Hudson Monthly Meeting, New York, and a minister highly esteemed. In the year 1798 she went to England on a gospel mission, bearing with her from Friends in America, clear certificates of unity and concurrence; and after spending nearly two years in visiting meetings in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, she attended the Yearly Meeting in Dublin. At the close of that meeting, being about to return to England, she received from the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders a certificate, stating that "it was her concern by example and precept to inculcate the doctrines of the gospel and to excite Friends to be not only in profession but in practice, the humble self-denying followers of Christ." This minute was handed to her by Joseph Williams on behalf of the meeting.[1]

She then proceeded to England, with her companion Elizabeth Coggeshell, and attended the Yearly Meeting in London. In the meeting of ministers and elders, Elizabeth Coggeshell expressed her prospect of making a religious visit to some places on the Continent, and received a minute of concurrence.

[1] The Yorkshireman, V. 63.

Hannah Barnard offered to accompany her friend, asking for similar credentials.

At this juncture, David Sands from the State of New York, and Joseph Williams, an elder and representative from the Yearly Meeting of Ireland, objected to "the ministry of Hannah Barnard, as differing in some points of belief and doctrine from that of Friends." This statement is from the testimony of Luke Howard, who adds, "that these Friends had had occasion to learn her sentiments while she travelled in the ministry in Ireland."[1] Another account states that the ground of objection was, "for maintaining opinions not consonant with those of the Society, and especially concerning the divine authority of the Jewish wars, as stated in the Old Testament."[2] It is said that Joseph Williams referred to a conversation at Carlow, in Ireland, which occurred some weeks before the Yearly Meeting in Dublin.

This impeachment of a female minister, a stranger from a distant land, before that large and influential body of Friends, must have overwhelmed her with unutterable distress,—it is said that her companion, Elizabeth Coggeshell, was so overcome, that she fainted on her seat.

When we consider that the ministry and conversation of H. Barnard, referred to by Joseph Williams, took place prior to the Yearly Meeting of Dublin, which granted her a clear certificate, it is obvious that he, as the agent and representative of that meeting, took a most unwarrantable step in becoming her accuser. If there was ground for such a charge, it

[1] The Yorkshireman, V. 17.

[2] W. Rathbone's Narrative of Events in Ireland, p. 108.

should have been examined in Ireland before the certificate was granted.

The Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London appointed a committee to confer with her, and three sittings were occupied chiefly in questioning her concerning her religious views.

Her friends thought the proceedings of the committee inquisitorial; she was, however, free and open in the avowal of her opinions; and it was concluded that she was not one with Friends in her views on the Jewish wars. She avowed her belief that war "is in itself, and ever was, a moral evil, which man creates to himself by the misapplication of his powers, or, in other words, by the abuse of his free agency." The examination resulted in the meeting of ministers and elders pronouncing its judgment that she held sentiments concerning some parts of the Old Testament contrary to the belief of the Society; therefore it was improper for her to travel as a minister, and it was the meeting's advice that she should return home. The Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, being about to adjourn, referred the case to the "Morning Meeting," which is composed of the ministers and elders of all the meetings in London. It convenes every week, and is an institution peculiar to that city.

That meeting appointed a committee to confer with H. Barnard, and, after hearing its report, made a minute recommending her "to desist from travelling or speaking as a minister, and that she quietly return by the first convenient opportunity to her own habitation."

This recommendation she declined to comply with, and, after some months' delay, her case was referred

to Devonshire-house Monthly Meeting, in London. As she was not a member of that Monthly Meeting, and was not then sojourning within its limits (having gone to Brighton for her health,)[1] it is obvious that she was not amenable to its authority. It was stated, however, by a member, that H. Barnard desired the complaint should be acted upon. Her request, if truly reported, must have resulted from a belief that the members generally would view her sentiments more favorably than the ministers and elders; and, doubtless, there were some who encouraged her to remain and meet the issue. Her determination, as the event proved, was exceedingly unwise, and her unyielding tenacity of purpose involved her and her friends in a protracted struggle with the most influential part of the Society in England.

The Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to confer with H. Barnard. They had three interviews with her, and reported as follows:—

"We read to her the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders. The case of Abraham alluded to therein, [offering his son Isaac,] she explained to our satisfaction. As to war, she expressed her belief that, in no age of the world, the great and merciful Creator ever commissioned any nation or person to destroy another, but that they were formerly, as at present, only permitted so to do. With respect to the miraculous conception and miracles of Christ, she informed us that they had not been revealed to her mind, and, therefore, she could not assert a positive belief in them, but that she did not deny them; and she fully admitted the power of Providence to

[1] Yorkshireman, V. 18.

effect these or any other miracles. She said she did not consider an accordance in sentiment as to historic facts to be essential to salvation. And she expressed her apprehension that too much infallibility had been imputed to the records of the Old and New Testaments, not only by other people, but also by Friends. She appeared to be closely united to the Society in a firm belief of the inward manifestation of the Divine will. And we endeavoured to convince her of the propriety of Friends' sentiments upon those points wherein she seemed not to agree with them. She received our visits in a very friendly manner, and we believe that it may be truly added, that we parted under the influence of mutual good will."[1]

This report being read, the further consideration of the case was postponed to the next Monthly Meeting, when it was again taken up, and the recommendation of the Morning Meeting of ministers and elders was concurred in; that is, she was advised to return to her home.

Being dissatisfied with this decision, she determined to appeal to the Quarterly Meeting. Her appeal was heard, and the judgment of the Monthly Meeting confirmed. She then appealed to the Yearly Meeting of London, held in 1801, which confirmed the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting, and directed Devonshire-house Monthly Meeting to transmit a copy of the proceedings to Hudson Monthly Meeting.

She returned home the same year, and soon after her arrival, Hudson Monthly Meeting appointed a joint committee of men and women to hear her defence. She was not able to satisfy them with regard to her

[1] Signed by John Lloyd, Sam'l Barnard, Sparks Moline.

religious sentiments, and the Monthly Meeting directed her "to be silent as a minister in our Society."

She appealed to the Quarterly Meeting for redress, and that meeting appointed a committee, which, after hearing her appeal, deemed it unsatisfactory, but postponed their report for three months. In the meantime, Hudson Monthly Meeting instituted proceedings having in view her disownment from membership. In the Fifth month, 1802, the Quarterly Meeting confirmed the action of the Monthly Meeting, which silenced her as a minister, and in the following month the Monthly Meeting of Hudson issued a testimony of disownment against her. It states that "she called in question the authenticity of various parts of the Scriptures of Truth, both of the Old and New Testament, which, in common with other professors of faith in Christ, we have always acknowledged to be of divine authority, and most surely believed by us; particularly, she does not unite with the Society in acknowledging the truth of that part which relates to the miracles and miraculous conception of Christ: that she hath not only imbibed these erroneous and dangerous sentiments, but is assiduous in disseminating them among others. Hence, it evidently appears that she is not one with us in principle or practice."

She survived her separation from the Society about twenty-six years, leading a quiet and secluded life.

CHAPTER II.

MEMORIALS OF ENGLISH FRIENDS.

1802–1828.

To preserve the remembrance of those who have been eminent for their virtues and their services in the church of Christ, in order to incite others to follow their example, while ascribing the glory to the Author of all good, has ever been the practice of the Society of Friends, and with this view the subjoined brief memorials have been compiled.

1. Deborah Darby was the daughter of John and Hannah Barnard, and was born at Upperthorp, near Sheffield, England, in the Eighth month, 1754.[1] In early life she frequently experienced the contriting visitations of Divine love, and in opportunities of retirement was humbled before God. Her care to retire to wait upon the Lord in secret, continued through life; and having known this habit at an early period, to contribute to temper her own vivacity, she was often engaged to recommend the practice to others, especially to her younger friends.

She was married in the year 1776, to Samuel Darby, and after living a while in London, they settled at Coalbrookdale, in Shropshire. In 1779, she was called to the gospel ministry, and being concerned to keep low and watchful before the Lord, she grew in her gift, and her services were truly acceptable to her friends. During nearly thirty years, she was a

[1] This brief memorial, and most of those contained in this chapter, have been selected and abridged from the Eleventh Part of Piety Promoted, compiled by Josiah Forster.

diligent laborer in the Gospel of Christ. She travelled through most parts of England, was several times in Ireland, and was absent from her native land nearly three years on similar religious service in America, in company with her endeared fellow-laborer, Rebecca Young, afterwards known as Rebecca Byrd.

She was a remarkable example of humility and unreserved obedience to the leadings of divine Truth, through which she became an instrument of good to many.

In her last illness she endured severe sufferings with exemplary patience, uttering praises to the Lord for all his goodness. The evening before her death, being asked by an attendant if anything could be done for her, she replied, "Rejoice evermore, and in everything give thanks." Shortly afterwards she said, "The Lord's will be done." In a sweet frame of mind she welcomed the messenger that called her from the trials of time to the enjoyments of eternity, and departed the 14th of the Second month, 1810.

2. Thomas Colley was born near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in the year 1742, and educated in the principles of the established Church.

At eleven years of age he went to reside in Sheffield as an apprentice, and being awakened to a sense of spiritual want, he joined the Society of Methodists, among whom he was zealous and much esteemed. About the 22d year of his age he began to attend the meetings of Friends, waiting reverently before the Lord, and seeking the knowledge of his Truth. "His circumstances were low in the world, yet he diligently attended the meetings of Friends, until he observed that some who were active in the concerns of the

Society absented themselves from those held in the course of the week. He thought that he might follow their example; but found that by so doing he suffered in a spiritual sense, and therefore resumed his former practice; and giving proof of his sincere attachment to our Christian principles, he was in due time admitted into membership."

In the year 1768, he appeared as a minister in the meetings of Friends, and his services were acceptable and edifying.

In 1779, he went on a religious mission to some of the British West India Islands, and some years subsequently he travelled extensively in North America, where his gospel labors made a deep and instructive impression upon the minds of many. At home also he labored faithfully in his holy calling, and when not thus engaged, was diligent in his temporal business, in which he was blessed with success.

In the Seventh month, 1811, he was seized with violent illness, and expecting to live but a few days, he said to a friend, "I am a poor weak creature, uncertain how this attack may terminate; nor am I anxious about it. For some time past, I have been concerned to use the strength afforded, in discharging manifested duties; and on a retrospect, I do not see one religious duty or service left undone."

After this, he gradually declined for nearly a year, and near the close, expressed to a friend who was about to take his leave, in order to attend a religious meeting, "The Lord bless thee; and may he be with you in all your movements, in the promotion of his work. How long the taper may glimmer in the socket is uncertain; I think it will not be long. My love to friends. Farewell."

He deceased the 12th of the Sixth month, 1812, in the 70th year of his age, having been a minister forty-four years.

3. Henry Tuke, son of William and Elizabeth Tuke, was born at York, in the year 1755. Educated under the care of pious parents, he yielded early in life to the tendering visitations of divine grace, and was preserved from the contagion of vicious example which he found in his intercourse with the world. His natural talents and literary taste were developed by education and directed to useful pursuits. He first appeared as a minister of the gospel in his twenty-fifth year, and being careful to move under the holy influence of the Divine Anointing, his ministry was sound and edifying, and his bright example corresponded with his profession. In the discipline of the church, he was active, skilful, and extensively useful. His treatise on the principles of Friends was widely circulated throughout the Society.

The humility and devotedness of his character are evinced in the following extract from a letter written in the latter part of his life. "One thing I find, that the longer I live the more I am reduced to that state which breathes the language, 'Lord, I am a child;' sometimes with an addition like that of, 'I cannot speak;' though at others the more resigned language will prevail: 'Take me and lead me where thou wouldst have me to go.' And here I wish to centre, and leave all to Him who doeth all things right; and who, my small experience has taught me, is worthy to be served and obeyed in all things."

A short time before his death, the 23d psalm being read to him at his request, he repeated with great feeling the last verse, in this manner: "Surely, good-

ness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I hope I may add, I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever; but," he added, "all is mercy, unmerited mercy." To his father he said, "My dear father, how I have loved and revered thee! and now we are likely to part. But I am perfectly resigned to the will of my heavenly father. If I die, I die as I have lived, in the faith and hope of a Christian." Thus closed his useful life in peace with God and man, the 11th of the Eighth month, 1814.

4. Joseph Gurney Bevan was born in the city of London, in the year 1753. Being endowed with a quick perception and superior understanding, he acquired much useful learning and information, which, with a cheerful disposition, rendered his company agreeable and instructive, particularly to the young. In his 23d year he became associated with his father in business as a chemist and druggist, and manifested throughout life a sincere concern to act upon pure Christian principles in all his transactions. In 1796, he removed to Stoke Newington, having retired from commercial business, and thenceforth he devoted his time and talents to the service of his great Lord and Master, being much engaged in benevolent and religious concerns, and employing his pen in defence of our Christian principles. For many years he filled the station of an elder with acceptance to his friends. Near the close of life, he expressed with humility the composure he felt in the prospect of death, saying it was his greatest comfort to have a hope of admission into "a house not made with hands." Without any indication of pain, he quietly expired the 11th of the First month, 1814.

5. John Kendall was born in Colchester, England,

in the year 1726, of parents religiously disposed, and early in life became a zealous supporter of Christian doctrine and discipline, as professed by the Society of Friends.

About the 21st year of his age he appeared as a minister of the gospel. In the year 1750, he accompanied Daniel Stanton in a religious visit to Friends in the northern parts of England and into Scotland; and two years after he again left home in the service of the ministry. He was frequently engaged during nearly forty years in visiting various parts of the United Kingdom, and was five times in Holland in the service of the gospel.

During a period of sixty years he attended, with little intermission, the Yearly Meeting in London, and took an active part in the concerns of the Society. His latter years were much occupied in writing for the press, either tracts of which he was himself the author, or extracts from the writings of others.

He was concerned through life, as well by example as precept, to encourage all around him to the exercise both of civil and religious duties. "If the character of any individual was brought into question, he would, if he could not excuse their failings, avoid the conversation; thus evincing that 'charity which thinketh no evil.' During his last illness he said, 'I am pleased to find some of my dear friends are concerned in a diligent attendance of their meetings, and it is pleasant to believe that I shall leave behind those in this place, who will support our testimonies and be as standard-bearers in the cause which I have so long advocated: I have great consolation in reflecting that I have devoted a long life to the blessed cause of Truth, and have supported it with my faculties and my substance.'"

The night before he died he said to a young relative, "Dear cousin, let us wait for the Spirit of Truth, the best instructor, which will guide us into all truth."—"I love all young people that love religion." "In great quietness he departed this life the 27th of the First month, 1815, in the 89th year of his age."[1]

6. Mary Pryor, wife of John Pryor, of Hertford, was born in the city of London, in the year 1738. She lost her mother when very young, and was consequently exposed to those temptations by which the youthful mind is drawn aside from the simplicity of manners that becomes the Christian profession.

On one occasion, when about to be introduced to unsuitable company, she said to her companion, "I can go no further." This sacrifice to her sense of duty was abundantly rewarded; and relating the circumstance, in after-life, to one of her daughters, she acknowledged that she had hardly ever felt more true joy than she at that time did, on her solitary walk home. When about the age of twenty-five, she gave up to an apprehension that it was required of her to bear public testimony to the Lord's goodness. Her ministry was acceptable to her friends, and her genuine love and simplicity gained her the esteem of those among whom she labored. When about sixty years of age, she embarked for America on a mission of gospel love. The vessel proved to be unseaworthy, and after several weeks of great peril and distress, the passengers and crew were rescued by Captain Macy, the master of a schooner bound to Philadelphia. Mary Pryor, by her calmness and serenity, evinced her trust in the Divine Being, who

[1] Memoirs of J. Kendall, London Ed., 1815.

had called her to his service, and when she reached the wharf in Philadelphia, she knelt down and returned thanks for her providential deliverance, asking a blessing also on the captain who had been instrumental in her rescue.

"She tarried about twelve months among Friends in America, where her fervent labours to do the will of her gracious Lord, and the sweetness and humility of her deportment, endeared her to those whom she visited."

"In her last illness, which appeared to be a gradual decay of nature, she remarked that she had been enabled to rely with confidence on the merits and intercession of her Redeemer, adding, 'To sit at the feet of my beloved Lord in his kingdom is more than I deserve; but not more than I covet. I know that it is by grace we are saved, through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God. Oh, that it may be continued to the end." At another time she said, "I feel that I have nothing more to do than to wait for admission into the promised rest." * * * "What a favour, a blessed favour, to have nothing to do but wait for the last summons. O! Lord Jesus, my Saviour, be pleased to deal mercifully with thy poor handmaid, who hath nothing to depend upon but thy mercy." The welcome summons to eternal rest came in the Second month, 1815, when she departed at the age of seventy-seven.[1]

7. Richard Reynolds was extensively known and honored as a philanthropist. He was the son of Richard and Jane Reynolds, and was a native of the city of Bristol. He spent the greater part of his life

[1] Piety Promoted, Eleventh Part, by Josiah Forster.

in Shropshire, where he was for many years actively engaged as a partner in extensive iron-works and collieries. He was a man of great order and integrity in business, and very successful; but having early in life felt the importance of a religious life, he did not allow his temporal concerns to engross his attention, nor his affluent position to withdraw his mind from the pursuit of the true riches. He entered with much judgment into measures calculated to benefit the community in a civil and commercial point of view, and was no less remarkable for his secret charities than for his munificent contributions to benevolent purposes.

In his fifty-fifth year he retired from business and settled at Coalbrookdale, where he spent the remainder of a long life in preparation for the spiritual world;—not in idleness, but diligent in the service of his Lord and Master, while promoting the happiness of mankind. He was an active and useful member of the Society of Friends, advocating with Christian courtesy its principles and testimonies.

In one of his last letters, near the close of life, he says, "I will not conclude without mentioning, that throughout my illness I have not been without hope, and which [I may say] with humility and thankfulness is continued, and, I trust, will be to the end; but it is solely founded on the mercy of God in Christ Jesus who died for us, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins."

On the 10th of the Ninth month, 1816, he was gathered to his eternal rest, being in the eighty-first year of his age.

8. Mary Naftel, daughter of John and Joanna Higman, was born at Austle, in Cornwall, in the Tenth

month, 1756. On a retrospect of her early life she remarks, "So long back as I have any recollection, I had some sense of God upon my soul; manifold have been the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, from my very infant days unto the present time." About the twenty-second year of her age, she first spoke as a minister; and in the year 1789 was married to Nicholas Naftel, and settled in the Island of Guernsey, where they resided more than fourteen years. In the latter part of her life she removed with her husband to Chelmsford. She travelled much as a minister, and was occupied two years on a religious visit to America, where her gospel labors and circumspect conduct were edifying. When the close of life drew nigh, she remarked, "Oh! how precious is love. I wish my love to all friends. I never felt greater love than I do now;" and then added, "The joy I feel."

Some Friends going into her room, she said, "How sweet is the fellowship of congenial spirits even here! What must it be with saints and angels where there is no alloy?" * * * "I have wished that both the elder and younger may be encouraged to faithfulness. I remember how earnestly I waited upon the Lord in early life, to know the revelation of his will, which now affords me much comfort." * * * "Through mercy, I have a hope that if I am taken I shall be gathered to the just of all generations." She passed quietly away the 18th of the Eleventh month, 1820, in the sixty-fifth year of her age.

9. William Tuke, of the city of York, was extensively known as an aged and honorable elder in the Society. About the twenty-first year of his age he was deeply impressed with the supreme importance

of heavenly things, but after these strong convictions, the desire of accumulating wealth and obtaining pre-eminence amongst men, gained, for a time, the ascendency in his mind. He was not, however, forsaken by Divine Goodness, but through the chastening of affliction, and the secret admonitions of the Spirit of Christ, he was awakened from a state of carnal security and induced to seek in humility and self-denial the path that leads to peace. Having submitted to the cross of Christ, he made all his temporal concerns subordinate to his religious duties, and became extensively useful in the meetings of Friends, which he diligently attended. With very few exceptions, he was found for upwards of fifty years at the Yearly Meeting held in London, taking an important part in its deliberations. He was an indefatigable laborer in the cause of religion and Christian morals, given to hospitality, and liberal in his contributions for charitable purposes.

"Amongst the objects which gained his peculiar attention, were the promotion of schools, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the spread of the Holy Scriptures, both at home and abroad; and he was particularly exertive in the establishment and management of that excellent institution, the Retreat, near York, for insane persons."

In extreme old age, when feeble in body and afflicted with blindness, he continued to be a diligent attendant of religious meetings, evincing that his chief delight was in social worship and communion with God.

He quietly departed this life, without any apparent pain, on the 6th of the Twelfth month, 1822, in the ninetieth year of his age.

10. Mary Dudley, the daughter of Joseph and Mary Stokes, was born in the city of Bristol, in the Sixth month, 1750. Her parents, being members of the Church of England, educated her in accordance with its ritual, with but little restraint on her natural inclination to gayety and amusement. About the twentieth year of her age she withdrew from the scenes of fashionable folly to which she had been accustomed, became dissatisfied with the forms and ceremonies in which she had been educated, and joined in communion with the Wesleyan Methodists. In adverting to this stage of her religious experience, she writes: "In the several ceremonies of this, and in different meetings of the other, I felt unsatisfied; and often, while others were engaged in attention to the preaching, singing, &c., has my spirit, in solemn silence, communed with the Lord, my strength, — so that I scarcely knew what was passing without me, and even felt disturbed from this inward attraction, when obliged to draw to the spot where the outward elements were prepared for the congregation. Oh, how did I there feel the heavenly mystery, and sweetly partake of the bread of life; so that all forms and shadows fled away, and became no longer of use or efficacy to a mind feeding spiritually on the substance!"

In this state of mind she often attended the meetings of Friends, and, being drawn into fellowship with them, believed she was required to conform to their peculiar testimonies. In submitting to this requisition, the cross to her natural inclination was so great, and the opposition of her family so strong, that she thought the yielding up of her natural life would have been an easier sacrifice. She was, how-

ever, strengthened to obey her sense of duty, and, in the twenty-third year of her age, joined in membership with Friends. She was soon after constrained to speak as a minister of the Gospel, from which her natural disposition exceedingly shrunk.

In 1777 she was married to Robert Dudley of Clonmel, in Ireland,—a connection that was every way eligible. Her constitution being naturally delicate, she was often afflicted with illness, and in 1787 was brought very low by disease. She had for some years been under doubt and discouragement concerning her ministry, and had almost desisted from it; but at a time when she was not expected long to survive, a prospect of religious service in a foreign land was opened to her mental vision. In a short time her fidelity to her gracious Redeemer was put to the test by an apprehension of duty to unite with her beloved friend, Sarah Grubb, in a religious mission to Holland, Germany, and France. She was enabled to perform the service to the peace of her own mind, and with acceptance to many whom she visited. Her resignation to the Divine will, in the performance of this duty, was the commencement of that devotedness to the cause of religion which so conspicuously marked her future life. During the succeeding twenty years, she travelled much in the service of the Gospel, in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and her religious labors were highly appreciated.

After the decease of her husband, she removed, in the year 1810, to the neighborhood of London, where she mostly resided during the remainder of her life, continuing to be, even in her declining years, a diligent laborer in the Lord's vineyard. In her last illness she was often engaged in ascribing praise and

glory to Him, who called her by his grace, and supported her through every trial. After a distressing night, she prayed with earnestness, "Grant a moment's ease of body, if it be thy blessed will." The petition appeared to be soon answered, for almost immediately after, she proceeded thus: "Praise, praise, for this calm. Now, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Bless my children, bless thy own work." Among her last expressions were these: "Grace has triumphed over nature's feelings; the Lord has fulfilled his promise! He has given the victory through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power, dominion and strength, now and forever! Holy, holy, holy!" Thus triumphing over the pains of death, she yielded her spirit "to God who gave it," and expired the 24th of the Ninth month, 1823, in the seventy-fourth year of her age.

11. Samuel Alexander was born at Needham-Market, in the county of Suffolk, in the year 1749. His parents were Friends, of pious character, who gave him a guarded education, and trained him in habits of diligence. When he attained to manhood, his business connections led him into intimacy with unprofitable companions, and, in a religious sense, he lost ground for a time; but through the chastening of domestic affliction, and the visitations of Divine grace, he was led to see the vanity of the world, and the insufficiency of temporal enjoyments to satisfy the cravings of an immortal soul. Continuing humble and watching unto prayer, he found the constraining influence of Divine love to awaken in his mind a concern for the welfare of others, and about the year 1789 he came forth as an acceptable minister of the Gospel.

Having acquired a competence, he retired from business early in life, and devoted much of his income to purposes of hospitality and benevolence, — employing his time and talents in deeds of Christian philanthropy.

On the 4th of the Twelfth month, 1824, having been actively engaged in devising means for the employment of the children of the poor, he was attacked with sudden illness. He was sweetly tranquil, and remarked that we have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. On the 15th of the same month, after rising to breakfast, he spoke of uneasiness in his neck and face, of which he had before complained, when, pausing about a minute, he leaned back in his chair, and expired without a struggle.

12. Lindley Murray was a native of Pennsylvania, and his parents were respected members of the Society of Friends. His father designed him for a merchant, and gave him a suitable education; but he preferred the profession of the law, and having spent four years with an eminent solicitor in New York, he commenced practice in that city with favorable prospects of success. It pleased Divine Providence that his professional career should be arrested by sickness, and his attention was, by this means, turned to pursuits of a higher and far more important nature. About the year 1784, in the 38th year of his age, his constitution being very much enfeebled, his physicians advised him to seek a milder climate, and he chose to reside in England. Removing, with his wife, they settled at Holdgate, near York, where he continued to live the remainder of his days.

There is good reason to believe that from early

life he had been, in some measure, brought under the influence of religious principles; and when his prospects in the world were clouded by disease, his attention was more earnestly turned to the consideration of spiritual realities. The humility of his deportment, and the Christian spirit that breathed through his whole conduct, endeared him to the members of York Monthly Meeting, where he served in the station of an elder, and proved to be eminently useful.

Being disabled for active exertion by bodily infirmity, he did not yield to despondency, but turned his literary abilities to good account in the compilation of numerous publications for the use of schools and for the promotion of piety, that have rendered his name familiar to most readers wherever the English language is spoken.

His charities, both public and private, but particularly the latter, were extensive. He was deeply interested in promoting the education of the poor and the elevation of the African race. During the last twenty years of his life he was unable to attend meetings for worship and discipline, yet his zeal and devotion were not abated, for his delight was still in the law of the Lord.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his union with his beloved wife, he wrote as follows:— "In the course of the long period of our union, we have had our trials and afflictions; we have seen a variety of trying events and situations; but we have been favored too with many great, distinguished blessings. Even the afflictions, and what appeared to be adverse occurrences, were designed for our final well-being. I hope the gracious intentions of

these dispensations will be fully answered by our being safely landed, through the atonement and intercession of our blessed Redeemer, on those happy shores where no clouds nor storms are ever known, and where, after millions of ages of happiness shall have passed away, we shall only seem to have begun our felicity,—a felicity that will never end."

On the evening of the 13th of Second month, 1826, he was suddenly seized with severe illness, and on the morning of the 16th he expired, in great peace and resignation, in the 81st year of his age.

CHAPTER III.

MEMORIALS OF ENGLISH FRIENDS, CONTINUED.

1800–1828.

In the early part of this century, the Society of Friends in Great Britain numbered among its members many persons, of both sexes, who were distinguished and even renowned for their benevolent efforts and extensive charities: in promoting the relief of the suffering poor, the education of the indigent, the reformation of criminals, the amelioration of the penal code, and the abolition of the slave-trade.

1. Among these disinterested laborers in the cause of humanity, William Allen held a conspicuous rank. He was born at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, the 29th of the Eighth month, 1770. His parents, who

were members of the Society of Friends, "endeavored to make religion attractive to him, and taught their son to love and value scripture truth and the society of those who were its advocates; they early directed his mind to take heed to the convictions of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions, and tender yet judicious restraint, were especially blessed to him."[1]

His taste for philosophical pursuits was developed while yet a youth. He had a particular predilection for chemistry, and was persevering in his efforts to obtain an experimental knowledge of this science. His talents and character led Joseph Gurney Bevan, a most excellent and exemplary Friend, to introduce him into his chemical establishment at Plough Court, London, where he was soon promoted to a responsible station, and ultimately became the well-known proprietor. During his minority, as well as in after-life, while strictly attentive to his business from motives of duty, he yet found time for the cultivation of his mind in the attainment of scientific and literary knowledge. These pursuits were happily united with sound Christian principle, and he was ever watchful lest the allurements of science should beguile his heart from love to God or adherence to the simple truths of the gospel.

In his eighteenth year, writing in his diary, he says, concerning the preaching of the gospel: "Surely there is something more than words in the testimonies of the servants of the Lord; something within us which is ready to bear witness to the truth; and what is it but the good Spirit of God? * * * Rebecca Jones and Christiana Hustler came to see my father,

[1] Life of W. Allen; Phila. ed., 1847, p. 1.

and had religious service in the family. R. Jones advised me at parting to be very careful what company I kept, and added, that if I kept to the truth the truth would keep me."

This remark he found verified in his experience; for notwithstanding the applause that often attended his scientific efforts and his philanthropic labors,—as well as the attentions received from the great and the gifted,—he pursued through life the Christian course of humility and devotion to the Author of his being. He delivered with great success lectures on chemistry and other sciences at Guy's Hospital, London, and at the Royal Institution, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

One of his earliest efforts to benefit the poor of the metropolis was, in connection with a few other benevolent persons, to institute an association to supply the distressed inhabitants of Spitalfields with soup. The society proved to be of great and extensive benefit, and had an important bearing on subsequent efforts for the relief of the poor. At a season of great scarcity and suffering, they distributed daily upwards of three thousand quarts of good, palatable soup, at one penny a quart, being much less than its cost; and the deficiency was supplied by subscription. William Allen was one of the most efficient members, and devoted much personal service to the association.

Another method of benefiting the indigent that claimed much of his attention, was to extend to their children the blessings of education. In this great work he found already in the field a member of the Society of Friends, who subsequently attained a world-wide celebrity as the educator of the poor.

Joseph Lancaster's labors as a teacher of youth commenced in a shed on his father's premises in the year 1798.[1] His design was to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to the children of the lower orders at about half the usual price, and those whose parents could not pay even at this reduced rate, he taught for nothing. His charitable labors coming to the knowledge of some more opulent members of the Society, a subscription was raised for his assistance. In 1805, his seminary was made a free school, and enlarged to contain a thousand pupils, of both sexes, under one master and a mistress.[2] In order to diminish the expenses of his institution, he employed the elder pupils in teaching the younger; and to save the cost of books, he accustomed a whole class to read from the same lesson, printed in large characters and suspended on the wall. With the same purpose, the first lessons in writing were traced in sand, and afterwards slates were used for teaching both writing and spelling, the words being dictated, and a whole class writing them at the same time. Paper and pens were furnished to pupils more advanced. The rules of arithmetic and many of the examples, were taught in like manner; the monitor reading, and the class transcribing or performing the operations simultaneously. His assiduous labor and wonderful tact for teaching and government, rendered his school remarkably successful and very popular among the laboring classes. It became necessary to enlarge the accommodations for the school, and liberal patrons came forward. "The second building I owe," says

[1] Life of William Allen, I., 70.

[2] Yorkshireman, V., 77; and Edinburgh Review.

Joseph Lancaster, "to the benevolence of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, who appeared to be sent by Providence to open wide before me the portals of usefulness for the good of the poor."

In the year 1808, William Allen became acquainted with this remarkable teacher, and at once entered into his views with his characteristic benevolence. He thus describes his first visit to the school: "I can never forget the impression which the scene made upon me. Here I beheld a thousand children collected from the streets, where they were learning nothing but mischief, one bad boy corrupting another, all reduced to the most perfect order and training to habits of subordination and usefulness, and learning the great truths of the gospel from the Bible. The feelings of the spectator while contemplating the results which might take place in this country, and the world in general, by the extension of the system thus brought into practice by this meritorious young man, were overpowering, and found vent in tears of joy."

Among the continual engagements of William Allen for the good of his fellow-creatures, he did not forget the oppressed and degraded children of Africa. His efforts for the improvement of the colonists at Sierra Leone and for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, were unremitting, and he lived to rejoice in the assurance that they were not in vain.

Contemporary with this distinguished philanthropist, and like him fruitful in good works, another English Friend now claims our attention.

2. William Forster, son of William and Elizabeth Forster, was born at Tottenham, near London, Third month 23d, 1784. It has been said of him that "his

life from his youth was a Christian mission." At the age of nineteen, he yielded to his heavenly Father's call and became a public advocate of Divine Truth; — two years later, he was duly recognized as a minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends.

In the year 1811, he was extensively engaged in a gospel mission to Scotland and the Hebrides. The following year he joined Stephen Grellet in his religious labors in London, Dublin, and some other places. They spent more than a week in humane efforts and gospel ministrations among the prisoners in Newgate, then a most revolting scene of destitution and wretchedness. After their affecting discoveries in this prison, they went to Elizabeth Fry and interested her in the benevolent work which has rendered her name famous throughout the world.

In the year 1820, William Forster embarked for America, and spent almost five years in religious labors, during which time he visited nearly all the meetings of Friends on this continent, and many of them several times. His subsequent labors do not come within the scope of this work, but are well worthy of the reader's attention. His extensive travels in Europe as a minister of the gospel, his benevolent efforts for the relief and education of the poor, and his mission to America to plead the cause of the down-trodden slaves, are remembered with deep interest, and have embalmed his name in the hearts of thousands.

His mind was richly endowed by nature, and well improved by education. His manners were gentle and refined, his benevolent affections strong, and his sympathy for the afflicted, remarkably tender. Hence he was adapted, when moving under the influence of

divine grace, to comfort the mourner, and to extend the hand of encouragement to the desponding. His ministry was cogent and persuasive, often pathetic, and abounding in appropriate illustrations from the Holy Scriptures.

Of him it has been said by one of the best of American poets:

"He walked the dark world in the mild,
Still guidance of the light;
In tearful tenderness a child,
A strong man in the right."

His last religious labors were performed in America. While travelling as one of the deputation of English Friends, to present their views on Slavery to the governors of the Southern States, he died in East Tennessee, near the Holstein River, in the First month, 1854, and was buried near Friends' meeting-house called Newberry at Friendsville, Tennessee.[1]

"How many burdened hearts have prayed,
Their lives like thine might be!
But more shall pray henceforth for aid
To lay them down like thee.

"With weary hand, yet steadfast will
In old age as in youth,
Thy Master found thee sowing still
The good seed of His truth.

"As on thy task-field closed the day
In golden-skied decline,
His angel met thee on the way
And lent his arm to thine."[2]

3. Elizabeth Fry was born in Norwich, on the 21st of the Fifth month, 1780. She was the third daugh-

[1] London "Friend," Vol. XII. p. 81. [2] Whittier.

ter of John Gurney of Earlham, in the county of Norfolk, and Catherine, daughter of Daniel Bell, a merchant of London, whose wife Catherine, daughter of David Barclay, was a descendant of Robert Barclay of Ury, the celebrated Apologist.[1] John Gurney of Earlham, an opulent banker, was by birthright a member of the Society of Friends; and entertained a preference for their religious principles, but did not observe the habits of a Friend, in dress, address, and style of living. His children mingled much with fashionable society; their familiar associates being the gay, the gifted, and the learned; but they generally attended Friends' meetings for worship, and at times were brought under the tendering visitations of divine grace. "Their earlier years were, in fact, distinguished by much which they afterwards felt to have partaken largely of the vanity of youth, but which was yet singularly mingled with not a little of an opposite character. The evening dance, with its whirl of mirth and merriment, the excitement of the youthful day-dream, gave place in their turns to days of industry and study, to concern for the poor, and at times, to religious seriousness."[2]

John and Catherine Gurney had eleven children, of whom seven were daughters. Catherine, the eldest, after the death of their mother, proved to be a most affectionate caretaker of the others. She was rather grave in disposition, and possessed an inquiring, vigorous mind. She lived unmarried, and joined the National Church. Three others of the sisters, having married Churchmen, also became members of the same communion.

[1] Memoir of E. Fry by her daughters.

[2] Memoirs of J. J. Gurney, I. 19.

Elizabeth Gurney appears to have been in her youth less studious than her sisters, but decided and original in her views, fond of music, gay, graceful and attractive. In her eighteenth year, through the heart-searching ministry of William Savery, of Philadelphia, then on a religious mission in England, she was awakened to a consciousness that she was treading in the path of folly, and deeply impressed with the momentous truths of Christianity. During the meeting she wept, and was much agitated; at its close she sought an interview with William Savery, and went to dine with him at the residence of her uncle Joseph Gurney, a valued minister. In her Diary she thus describes her feelings on this interesting occasion: "To-day I have felt *that there is a God;* I have been devotional, and my mind has been led away from the follies that it is mostly wrapped up in. We had much serious conversation; in short, what he said and what I felt, was like a refreshing shower falling upon earth that had been dried up for ages. It has not made me unhappy: I have felt ever since humble, I have longed for virtue."

William Savery, in his Journal under date Fourth month 1st, 1798, mentions his visit to Norwich, and says it was the gayest meeting of Friends he ever sat in; there being but few middle-aged or young persons who had a consistent appearance in their dress. Although grieved at this, he found there a field for religious labor, and "many were tendered." He adds, "The marks of wealth and grandeur are too obvious in several families of Friends in this place, which made me sorrowful, yet I saw but little opening to relieve my mind; several of the younger branches, though they are enabled through Divine

grace to see what the Truth leads to, yet it is uncertain whether, with all the alluring things of this world around them, they will choose the simple, safe path of self-denial."

One of the sisters of Elizabeth Gurney, writing of the change that then took place in her character, says, "The next morning, William Savery came to breakfast, and preached to our dear sister after breakfast, prophesying of the high and important calling she would be led into. What she went through in her own mind I cannot say, but the results were most powerful and most evident. From that day her love of pleasure and of the world seemed gone."

Strange as it may seem, after this awakening she went to London, with her father's consent, to mingle with the gay society there. She attended theatres, operas, and balls, and took a lesson in dancing; but the merciful visitations of Divine grace still attended her, the zest for fashionable amusements was gone, and in the secret depths of her soul there was an earnest longing to lead a holier and happier life. William Savery was in the city, and she thus describes a meeting she attended. "William Savery's sermon was, in the first part, very affecting, it was from the Revelations; he explained his text beautifully and awfully; most awfully I felt it; he next described the sweets of religion, and the spirit of prayer. How he did describe it! He said the deist and those who did not feel devotion, looked at nature, admired the thunder, the lightning and earthquakes, as curiosities; but they looked not up through them to nature's God. How well he hit the state I have been in; I trust I may not remain in it; his prayer was beautiful; I think I felt to pray with him."

* * * "May I never forget the impression William Savery has made on my mind." * * * "I fear and tremble for myself, but I must humbly look to the Author of all that is good and great, and I may say humbly pray, that He will take me as a sheep strayed from his flock and once more let me enter the fold of His glory."

Many years afterwards, referring to this most critical period of her life, she wrote: "I wholly gave up on my own ground, attending all places of amusement; I saw they tended to promote evil; therefore, even if I could attend them without being hurt myself, I felt in entering them, I lent my aid to promote that which I was sure, from what I saw, hurt others; led many from the paths of rectitude and chastity, and brought them into much sin; particularly those who had to act in plays, sing in concerts. I felt the vanity of what are called the pleasures of this life, of which the tendency is not to satisfy, but eventually to enervate and injure the heart and mind; those are only real pleasures which are of an innocent nature and are used as recreations, subjected to the cross of Christ."

On her return to Earlham, Elizabeth Gurney being again brought into contact with the gayeties of fashionable life, found that her peace of mind depended on abstaining from music and dancing, in which she had formerly taken much delight. She found by experience that the excitement resulting from them led to vain thoughts and unprofitable associations. She was also led by a sense of duty to adopt the use of thou or thee in addressing a single person, which, though a cross to her natural inclination, was through reliance upon Divine aid made easy to her, and proved

to be a salutary discipline, as well as a safeguard by circumscribing her intercourse with the gay world. The change which took place in her dress was gradual, "she first laid aside all ornament, then she chose quiet and unconspicuous colours, and had her dresses made with perfect simplicity."

One of the earliest fruits of her piety was manifested in her attention to the poor and the afflicted, whom she visited, relieved, and instructed. She opened a school for the children of the indigent, which gradually increased from one little boy to so great a number that her teaching them in the house became inconvenient, and a vacant laundry was appropriated to this purpose. "She had at last, above seventy scholars, without assistance, without monitors, without even the countless books and pictures of the present day; how she controlled the wills and fixed the attention of so many unruly children, must ever remain a mystery to those who have not the gift she possessed, of influencing the minds of others."

In the summer of 1800, Elizabeth Gurney was married to Joseph Fry, and they went to housekeeping in St. Mildred's Court, in the city of London. They soon after had for their guest, upwards of a month, George Dillwyn of Philadelphia, then engaged in religious service in London. His cheerful demeanor and instructive conversation were highly prized.

In the spring of 1809, Joseph and Elizabeth Fry removed to a country residence called Plashet; and in the autumn following she first appeared in public supplication at the funeral of her father. Some weeks afterward, she uttered a few words in a meeting for worship, and from time to time, through the constraining influence of Divine love, she expressed

in humility and simplicity the feelings that arose in her heart under a sense of religious duty. Thus, being faithful, she grew in her gift and was, in the year 1811, acknowledged as a minister by the Monthly Meeting to which she belonged. Her ministry was very touching and impressive, and her prayers attended with an unction and pious fervor that influenced the hearts of all who heard her.

In her neighborhood she was the guardian and teacher of the poor, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, and educating the children. While engaged in supplying their natural wants, she was not unmindful of their spiritual necessities, and watched for opportunities to direct their attention to Him, whose ever-present Spirit is a fountain of life to the dedicated soul.

In the First month, 1813, William Forster, Stephen Grellet, and two other Friends visited some persons in Newgate who were condemned to be executed. They made known to Elizabeth Fry the destitution and wretchedness they witnessed there among the female prisoners, and she being moved by compassion and a sense of duty, went to the prison to inspect their condition. She was accompanied by a sister of Thomas Fowell Buxton; they found nearly three hundred women, with their numerous children, crowded together; the untried and the convicted felons confined in the same apartments; without employment, with insufficient clothing, and no bedding, they lived in rags and dirt, and slept on the floor. They were clamorous for alms when visitors appeared, and with the proceeds of their begging they bought spirituous liquors from a regular tap kept in the prison. Their behavior was turbulent,

and they freely indulged in the most shocking profanity.

Elizabeth Fry was deeply moved by the sorrowful condition of these women and children, and she exerted herself to procure for them a sufficiency of clothing.

One of her visits is thus noticed in the Journal: "Yesterday we were some hours in Newgate with the poor female felons, attending to their outward necessities; we had been twice previously. Before we went away, dear Anna Buxton uttered a few words in supplication, and very unexpectedly to myself, I did also. I heard weeping, and I thought they appeared much tendered; a very solemn quiet was observed; it was a striking scene, the poor people on their knees around us, in their deplorable condition."

It was nearly four years after her first visit to Newgate, when she undertook to do something more than had yet been attempted for the comfort and instruction of the female prisoners. Being, at her own request, left alone with them for some hours, "she read to them the parable of the Lord of the vineyard, in the 20th Chapter of St. Matthew; and made a few observations to them on the eleventh hour, and on Christ having come to save sinners, even those who might be said to have wasted the greater part of their lives estranged from Him. Some asked who Christ was; others feared that their day of Salvation was past." She addressed herself particularly to the mothers who had children in prison with them, pointing out the grievous consequences of their offspring living in such a scene of depravity, and she proposed to establish a school for them, to which they acceded with tears of joy. She told them that

she could do nothing without their steady co-operation, and desired them to select a governess from among themselves.

On her next visit, she found they had chosen as schoolmistress, a young woman who proved to be eminently qualified for the task. She had been recently committed for stealing a watch, and became one of the first fruits of Christian labor in that place.

The Sheriff of London and the Governor of Newgate, although they looked upon the undertaking as almost hopeless, granted the use of an unoccupied cell for the school-room. Elizabeth Fry, accompanied by her friend Mary Sanderson, opened the school for the children and young persons under twenty-five years of age, placing it under the care of the young woman who had been chosen as mistress. From the smallness of the room they were reluctantly obliged to exclude many who entreated to be allowed to share in their instructions. A few other ladies afterwards joined them in the work, and during many weeks, some of them were daily engaged in the school, which succeeded far beyond their expectations.

Elizabeth Fry, in giving her evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, said, "It was in our visits to the school, where some of us attended almost every day, that we were witnesses to the dreadful proceedings that went forward on the female side of the prison; the begging, swearing, gaming, fighting, singing, dancing, dressing up in mens' clothes; the scenes are too bad to be described, so we did not think it suitable to admit young persons with us."

In the spring of 1817, "An Association for the

Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate" was formed, consisting of twelve persons, all members of the Society of Friends except one, who was the wife of a clergyman. The object they had in view was, "To provide for the clothing, the instruction, and the employment of the women; to introduce them to a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and to form in them, as much as possible, those habits of order, sobriety, and industry, which may render them docile and peaceable whilst in prison, and respectable when they leave it."

The plan was found to work most admirably. At the end of a month, the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and several of the Aldermen, attended to witness the result of the experiment. One of the ladies, as usual, read a chapter in the Bible, and then the prisoners proceeded to their various avocations. "Their attention, during the time of reading, their orderly and sober deportment, their decent dress, the absence of anything like tumult, noise, or contention; the obedience and respect shown by them, and the cheerfulness visible in their countenances and manners, conspired to excite the astonishment and admiration of the visitors." * * * "The magistrates, to evince their sense of the importance of the alterations which had been effected, immediately adopted the whole plan as a part of the system of Newgate, empowered the ladies to punish the refractory by short confinement, undertook part of the expense of the matron, and loaded the ladies with thanks and benedictions.[1]

Such was the beginning of that celebrated prison reform initiated in Newgate by Elizabeth Fry, afterwards extended to other prisons, and ultimately tend-

[1] T. F. Buxton, on Prison Discipline.

ing to the improvement of prison discipline in several of the States of Europe.

Her benevolent efforts, being applauded by the Royal family, commended in Parliamentary speeches, and published in the newspapers, brought numerous visitors, — many of them persons of rank, — to hear her Scripture readings and exhortations in Newgate, which were deemed remarkably impressive.

Elizabeth Fry had eleven children, to whom, as to her husband, she was fondly attached, and much interested for their spiritual welfare. Being desirous to do her duty at home faithfully, it was not without reluctance and searching of heart that she was so much engaged abroad in philanthropic and religious labors. The reformation of criminals, the education and relief of the indigent, the abolition of capital punishments, the proper treatment of the insane, and other benevolent concerns were greatly promoted by her labors; while her services as a minister of the gospel were highly appreciated by Friends, and the public at large. Her devoted and useful life was closed, in the full assurance of a happy immortality, in the Tenth month, 1846.[1]

4. Joseph John Gurney was born, at Earlham Hall, near Norwich, on the 2d of the Eighth month, 1788. He was the youngest, save one, of a large family of children, who, as already related, were, by birthright, members of the Society of Friends, but were not educated in accordance with its principles and practices.

In relation to his early experience, he writes: "I was by no means insensible, in very early life, to religious considerations; being no stranger, from the

[1] Memoir of the Life of E. Fry, by two of her daughters.

first opening of my mental faculties, to those precious visitations of Divine love which often draw the young mind to its Creator and melt it into tenderness. If religion has indeed grown in me, (as I humbly believe it has, though amidst innumerable backslidings,) it has pretty much kept pace with the growth of my natural faculties; for I cannot now recall any decided turning-point in this matter, except that which brought me to plain Quakerism. Cases of this description are, in my opinion, in no degree at variance with the cardinal Christian doctrine of the necessity of conversion, and of the new birth unto righteousness. The work which effects the vital change from a state of nature to a state of grace, is doubtless often begun in very early childhood, — nay, it may open on the soul, with the earliest opening of its rational faculties; and that its progress may sometimes be so gradual as to preclude our perceiving any very distinct steps in it, we may learn from our blessed Lord's parable: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how; for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself, — first the blade, then the ear, after that the full grain in the ear."[1]

When eight or nine years old, he was sent, in company with Samuel, an elder brother, to a boarding-school at Norwich, kept by Simon Brown, whose son, *a clergyman*, superintended the classical department. In his autobiography, Joseph John Gurney writes: "It may be remarked, that, in sending us to this school, our dear parent did not much protect our

[1] Memoir of J. J. Gurney, by J. B. Braithwaite, Philadelphia, 1855. Vol. I., p. 22.

Quakerism. However, even this subject was not entirely forgotten; for he arranged with a Friend, who lived at a distance of about two miles, to convey us every First-day to Wymondham meeting." When he had completed his fifteenth year, he was sent to Oxford to pursue his studies under the care of John Rodgers, a private tutor, who was a member of the Church of England, and had at one time been the incumbent of a considerable living in Dorsetshire.

"For him," writes Joseph John Gurney, "I soon felt a warm affection. He was an admirable tutor, taught us thoroughly, worked us hard, and gave us variety of study by way of recreation. We often read fourteen hours in the course of the day. The habits which he enjoined upon us corresponded with my taste. * * * [Under him] I pursued my classical and other studies with a delightful relish, and was enabled to form the *habit* of persevering literary labour."

His journeys to and from Oxford afforded him frequent opportunities of delightful intercourse with his sister, Elizabeth Fry, then settled in London.

"The decided change had already taken place, which had marked her adoption of the principles and practices of Friends, but her example in this respect had not as yet been followed by any of her family."

He was scarcely seventeen when he left Oxford, having acquired a good classical education, and soon after his return home, he found employment in his father's banking-house at Norwich. His eldest brother, John, was placed in charge of the branch-bank at Lynn. John had married his cousin Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Gurney, and she having sunk into a rapid decline, died about a year after

her marriage. This bereavement brought the family into intimate acquaintance with Edward Edwards, of Lynn, a minister of the Church of England, who became the principal means of drawing John Gurney, together with his sister Catherine and several other members of the family, into a connection with that church. "Joseph John Gurney's own course, however, continued for some time undecided, though every year strengthened the hold of religion upon his mind."

After his return home from Oxford, he became a regular attendant of Friends' meetings. "I can with truth acknowledge," he writes, "that no greater means of usefulness and happiness have fallen in my way, than our week-day meetings. These I have regularly attended from my seventeenth year to the present time. Deeply am I responsible for the refreshment and edification which I have often derived from them. Their quietness, the seriousness of those Friends who were in the regular habit of attending them, the sweet feeling of unity in our worship, and the liveliness of the ministry sometimes uttered on these occasions, are all hallowed in my mind and feelings; and were I asked what has been the happiest portion of my life, I believe I should not be far wrong in replying, the hours abstracted from the common business of the world for the purpose of public worship. The sacrifice is greater than that which we have to make on the First-day of the week when all business ceases; and the reward graciously bestowed has been to me, and I believe to many others, great in proportion. May none of my young friends and relations, who belong to the Society ever throw themselves out of the way of so precious a privilege."

At this date, Joseph John Gurney is described by Edward Edwards as "an extraordinary young man, about twenty, actively employed in the bank at Norwich, yet in the habit of devoting so much time to study early in the morning, as to have read nearly the whole of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew." His benevolent disposition was evinced in his twenty-fourth year by the warm interest he took in the formation of a Lancasterian school in Norwich, an institution which long continued to have his effective support. About the same time he became actively engaged with others in the establishment of an Auxiliary Bible Society in that city. He was appointed one of the secretaries, and from the year 1811 to 1836, inclusive, he continued to be an active member, and was accustomed annually to entertain, for three successive days, at his seat called Earlham, a very large company of the clergy and gentry, who came from a distance to attend the anniversary meetings.

In 1812, being the twenty-fourth year of his age, he felt impelled by a sense of duty to take a more decided stand as a Friend, and to conform to the practice of the Society in plainness of speech and apparel. It was a sacrifice humiliating in the extreme, but yielded the reward of peace and was sanctioned by his subsequent experience.

In the year 1815, William Forster visited Norwich, and Joseph John Gurney being deeply impressed with religious truth through his ministry, became his companion through several counties in England, which laid the foundation of a warm and lasting friendship between them. In reviewing this part of his life, he observes, "The ministry of Friends

affected me greatly, and was often a means of comfort and strength. I never suffered myself to criticise it, but acted on the uniform principle of endeavouring to obtain from what I heard, all the edification which it afforded. This is a principle which I would warmly recommend to my young friends in the present day; for nothing can be more mischievous than for learners to turn teachers, and young hearers critics. I am persuaded that it is often the means of drying up the waters of life in the soul; and sure I am that an exact method of weighing words and balancing doctrines in what we hear, is a miserable exchange for tenderness of spirit and for the dews of heaven."

In 1817 he appeared as a minister in the meetings of Friends, and the same year he entered into the marriage covenant with Jane Birkbeck, a distant relative and congenial mind. In the following year he was recognized by his Monthly Meeting as a minister of the gospel.

About this time he published his first book—"Notes of a visit made to some of the prisons of Scotland and the North of England, in company with Elizabeth Fry, with some general remarks on the subject of prison discipline." The subject was one which deeply interested him and called forth those benevolent feelings that prompted him to labor in every field where misery could be relieved, or the happiness of mankind promoted. The amelioration of the penal code, the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery, the relief of the indigent and the education of the poor, were subjects that claimed much of his attention, and received, from both his purse and his pen, efficient support.

Ackworth boarding-school, established for the education of Friends' children, was an institution in which he took an especial interest. The school being intended for the guarded religious education of the pupils, as well as their advancement in learning, he examined them in relation to scriptural knowledge; and finding them deficient, he proposed that they should study the Scriptures during the ensuing year with reference to Sacred History, to the prophecies concerning our Saviour, and their accomplishment as shown in the New Testament; to the doctrines and moral precepts, and to the evidence from Scripture confirmatory of the views of Friends.

His suggestions being adopted and carried out in practice by the superintendent and teachers, proved highly satisfactory. A visible improvement took place in the general deportment of the pupils, and religious impressions accompanied the labor of love bestowed upon them. The visits of Joseph John Gurney were highly appreciated, and proved to be seasons of instruction and delight to his young friends at the school.

As an author, he was held in esteem for his ability and learning. His writings are chiefly on religious subjects, and are very orthodox according to the standard of the Church of England. This may readily be accounted for, by considering that his education at school was under the care of clergymen of the Established Church, and that many of his intimate friends were rectors and bishops, members of parliament, and peers of the realm.

His talents, learning, and high social position, secured the respect of his contemporaries; but his sincere piety and extensive charities, give to his charac-

ter a stronger claim to the veneration and esteem of posterity.

The latter part of his life does not come within the scope of this work. He died in peace, at Earlham, the 4th of the First month, 1847, in his fifty-ninth year; being mourned for by the whole population of Norwich, where he was greatly beloved.

5. John Barclay was the son of Robert and Ann Barclay, members of the Society of Friends, and was born at Clapham in Surrey, in the year 1797. In early life he was exposed to the influence of bad example at a public school, and giving way, for a while, to his natural propensities, he was brought into condemnation, but through the mercy of the Lord, he experienced forgiveness, and amendment of life, being washed in the laver of regeneration. He was led into the path of humility and self-denial, and from a sense of duty relinquished advantageous offers of business, in order to devote his chief attention to religious duties.

Having removed to Cornwall, he was impressed with an apprehension that he should be called to the work of the ministry, and in the prospect of it he was preserved in a waiting, dependent state, until it pleased the great Head of the Church to commission him to proclaim the word of life. He afterwards removed to Croydon, and finally settled at Stoke Nervington. His health being infirm through the greater part of his life, he was necessarily confined much at home, and employed himself very usefully in editing a series of publications, chiefly relating to the lives and religious experience of the early Friends. His Memoirs of Friends in Scotland is an interesting and valuable work that has often been referred to in this History.

In his last sickness, the power of Divine love rose triumphant over all the infirmities of the flesh, and rendered his death-bed a scene of deep instruction. He died the 11th of the Fifth month, 1838, aged forty-one years.

CHAPTER IV.

MEMORIALS OF AMERICAN FRIENDS.

1800–1828.

WITHIN the compass of the several Yearly meetings in America, there were, at this period, many valuable Friends of both sexes, whose religious labors and exemplary lives were extensively known and long remembered. A few of them are noticed in the brief memorials here subjoined:

1. John Pemberton, of Philadelphia, has already been noticed as a devoted minister of the gospel, who travelled much, both in his native land and Europe, in the service of his Divine Master.

His first visit to Europe was in company with John Churchman, in the year 1750; his second was undertaken in 1782, and occupied him until 1789.

His return to his relatives and friends after so long an absence, was exceedingly gratifying to them all; but this pleasure was abated by the early discovery that he came home under a burdened mind, from an apprehension that his duty was not fully performed, which occasioned so great distress and conflict as sometimes to effect his bodily health.

He embarked for Amsterdam in the Spring of

1794, and on his arrival in that city engaged in religious labors which occupied him some weeks. He then proceeded towards Pyrmont, in Westphalia, Germany, where there was a Monthly Meeting of Friends. On his way he visited religious people and appointed meetings at several places. At Bielfield he was taken ill with a fever, yet he writes, "Through the adorable mercy of a gracious God, I felt more of the incomes of his love and life-giving presence than I have experienced a long time; I was enabled to make melody in my heart and recount his fatherly care and tender dealings with me from the days of my infancy, and I had to bless his holy name. This comfortable visitation of his love continued some hours, and I was ready to conclude I might soon be released from the trials and afflictions of this life." He recovered sufficiently to travel, and reached Pyrmont early in the Ninth month. He remained in that vicinity about four months, being in very poor health, yet most of the time occupied in religious labors. He attended their meetings for worship and discipline, visited Friends in their families, and appointed public meetings for worship, in which "he preached the free gospel of Christ with Divine authority," to the tendering and contriting of many hearts. "It was his principal concern to turn people from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, endeavoring to show that God has given a measure of his Spirit, light or grace to all men, as a talent which he has placed in their hearts."

In the First month, 1795, he was suddenly seized with a chill; a fever succeeded, and he became very ill. On the 31st, in the morning, being a little relieved, he said, "It is a great favour to know that my

Redeemer lives, and because he lives, I live also." About noon he said triumphantly, "I am departing for heaven, from you all,—to the kingdom of God and of Christ." "His mind seemed to be wrapped up in Divine love, continuing to speak of God, of Christ, and of his kingdom. The last words which could be distinctly understood, uttered in a melodious voice, were, 'I can sing the songs of Zion and of Israel.' Near seven in the evening, he departed, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age: a minister about forty-three years."

John Pemberton was a shining example of all the Christian virtues. A Friend who knew him well and accompanied him in one of his journeys in Scotland, speaks of him in the following terms: "My heart feels a tender sense of his sincere benevolence and worth, that I know not how to express. He was indeed a disinterested man. The desire of wealth and distinction, and the general pursuits of other men, seemed hardly to make a part of his motives. The glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures, seemed to be the pure spring of his actions. I have been told that on the day of his marriage, a time when most men are so taken up with their own happiness, as to forget that there is misery elsewhere, he ordered provisions to be sent to all the prisoners in Philadelphia. I have also been informed, that frequently, on market-days, he would himself go and lay out his money for the like purposes."

"In his disposition he was modest, yet when his duty led him among the great and distinguished, his manner was plain, solid, and dignified. To the different ranks of sober people, he was open and communicative." * * * * "To the poor he addressed

himself with great tenderness and condescension. It was admirable with what ease and delicacy, he would enter into the private concerns of poor families, with a view to do them good, he might indeed, be said to be the poor man's confiding counsellor and friend. If the sober and industrious wanted capital to begin business, if he had it not of his own, he went to borrow for them and entered into security for the payment. And when the solemn undertaking of his visit to Great Britain was drawing to maturity, lest any should suffer by a transaction in which he had any concern, he came to a resolution of disposing of estates, I have been told, to a considerable amount, paid off the sums for which he was engaged and took the securities upon himself." Like his Lord and Master, he went about continually doing good.

2. Peter Yarnall, son of Mordecai Yarnall, was born in Philadelphia about the year 1753. His father was a valued minister in the Society of Friends, and endeavored to educate his children in accordance with its principles; but this his son widely departed in his youth from the parental precepts and example.

In his eighteenth year, leaving his employer to whom he was apprenticed, he enlisted as a soldier in the British army. He soon found that by this act of disobedience he had placed himself in a state of thraldom and suffering, but through the benevolent exertions of John Pemberton he was, at considerable cost, released. About the year 1776, he entered the American army as Surgeon's mate, having previously studied medicine and surgery. In this station he served about two years, and having thrown off all the restraints of his early education, he afterwards

embarked on board a privateer, and went on a cruise to the West Indies.

During this part of his life, Peter Yarnall may justly be compared to the prodigal son, "who wandered into a far country and spent his portion in riotous living;" but being followed by the tender reproofs of the Shepherd of Israel, he was at length made willing to deny himself, take up his cross, and to become a fool in the eyes of his former associates. After enduring a season of conflict and deep baptism, he was qualified for and called to the work of the ministry. At the commencement of the Yearly Meeting in the Ninth month, 1780, he first appeared in that solemn service. Sitting far back in the house, on First-day afternoon, he stood up, under much exercise, and delivered that striking testimony of Christ, which doubtless he deeply felt, — "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed when he shall come in his own glory, and his Father's, and of the holy angels."

In the Twelfth month of the same year he made an acknowledgment to Uwchlan Monthly Meeting, where he had been disowned, in which he confessed his transgressions and expressed his hope of forgiveness through repentance and amendment of life. He also made an acknowledgment to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia for the southern district, to which his right of membership was transferred from Uwchlan after he had been reinstated there. This second acknowledgment relates solely to his connection with privateering, as having been more generally known in the city. "In the course of which employment," he says, "I became a party in seizing by violence the property of others, and a sharer therein, contrary

to the law of righteousness, which directs us to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us. I do hereby solemnly condemn the same, fully intending to make restitution to such whom I have thus injured, as far as I may be abilitated."

From Philadelphia, his right of membership was transferred by certificate to Concord, where he settled as a physician and married. His gift in the ministry was acknowledged by Concord Monthly Meeting in 1782. In 1785, he removed to York, Pennsylvania, and after residing there six years, removed to the neighborhood of Horsham, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and afterwards to Byberry, where he resided the remainder of his life.

He travelled frequently as a minister of the gospel, being earnest and efficient in his religious labors; for "having been forgiven much, he loved much." In the memorial concerning him, by Horsham Monthly Meeting, his ministry is described as awakening to the careless and encouraging to the weary traveller Zionward. "He was fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, and edifying his church; willing to spend and be spent in his cause: to whom he often acknowledged his great obligations in plucking him as a brand out of the burning; having frequently in his testimony to declare of the Lord's long-suffering, tender and gracious dealings with him; and to invite the prodigal sons to return to the Father's house where there is bread enough and to spare (as he had abundantly experienced) and to rest no longer satisfied with feeding on husks."

In his last sickness he said to his wife, "I feel no anxiety on my own account, but thine and the children's, and the precious cause of Truth; if my gra-

cious Master has anything more for me to do, I should be willing to be raised again, but have seen that I shall be a man of affliction as long as I am continued,—the Lord's will be done." Some time after, he said, "Heaven is a glorious place; into which I have no doubt of an entrance, if I should be removed at this time. I acknowledge it is awful to think of appearing before the bar of the just Judge; but on looking at it, I feel my mind centred in uninterrupted quiet."

At another time he said, "The Lord Jesus, my Saviour, is near, whatever becomes of this poor body. I hope, my gracious Master will give me patience to wait his time." Addressing his children, he desired them to love, fear, and serve God. "Now, dear children, you see the need of preparing for such a time as this: it would be miserable indeed if I did not feel an easy mind." "Oh, the goodness of the blessed Jesus" was frequently his language. He often appeared to be in fervent supplication, when very little could be understood, but "Lord thy will, not mine be done." A little before his departure, being asked how he was, he said, "In the Lord's keeping, I have that evidence." He then took an affectionate farewell of his wife and quietly expired, at his house in Byberry, the 20th of the Second month, 1798, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

3. Samuel Emlen, son of Samuel Emlen, was born in Philadelphia, the 15th of the First month, 1730. Through the care of pious parents, and the restraining influence of Divine grace, he was, in youth, preserved from the contamination of vice, and as he advanced to manhood he yielded to the tendering visitations of Divine love by which he was drawn to

walk in the narrow way that leads to life. His call to the gospel ministry, while travelling in Ireland, and some of his religious services in Great Britain, have already been noticed.

His labors in the cause of Truth were extensive in his own country and in foreign lands. Once he visited the Island of Barbadoes, and seven times he crossed the ocean to preach the gospel in Europe. He travelled much in Great Britain; twice visited Holland, and was several times in Ireland. In all places where he labored, he endeared himself to the people, —being a lively instance of the efficacy of that grace which he preached to others, and manifesting the power of religion by meekness, humility, and love. His knowledge of several languages; his peculiar gift in applying portions of the sacred writings, with an unaffected, engaging deportment, and affability of manners, frequently made way for him among persons of high rank, and with foreigners. When in company with such, his great concern was to impress upon their minds the superior benefits to be derived from a life of holiness and the comparative emptiness of this world's honors and enjoyments; frequently declaring that he was neither bigot nor sectarian, but a lover of all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

He was peculiarly gifted for consolatory visits to the afflicted in body or in mind, which he often manifested in the families of Friends, wherever he was, without distinction, and frequently amongst those not of his own communion, and this employment filled up a great part of his time. In meetings, his deportment was solid and instructive, his delivery clear, and his views comprehensive, — a holy unction attending his gospel labors.

After his return from his last visit to Europe in the year 1797, he gradually declined in health; yet, as usual, attended most of the meetings in Philadelphia, filling up the intermediate time principally in religious and social visits to the families of Friends. In these brotherly calls he often appeared to take but little interest in common conversation, yet, whenever it turned on religious subjects, he became animated, manifesting, by godly converse and pious devotion to his Master's cause, that his chief delight was in the law of the Lord, and his meditations thereon both frequent and fervent.

On the 14th of Twelfth month, 1799, he paid Rebecca Jones a visit, which proved to be their final interview. Noticing an almanac for the approaching year, he took it up, and placing it near his eye,—being very near-sighted,—he said, emphatically, "Eighteen hundred! I have said, that I shall not live to see it." She replied, "Oh, Samuel, don't say so!" He responded, "Rebecca, I have said it; remember the agreement which we made years ago, that the survivor should attend the other's funeral." On the following day he was engaged in a First-day meeting, in a lively testimony, and, finding himself ill, he leaned, in great physical weakness, on the rail before him, and repeated, with touching pathos, the following stanza from Addison:

> "My life, if Thou preserv'st my life,
> Thy sacrifice shall be,
> And death, if death should be my doom,
> Shall join my soul to Thee."

The meeting broke up; he was taken to a neighboring house, and when a little revived, to his home. The next Third-day he assembled with Friends at the

North meeting-house for the last time, and preached from the text, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, — even our faith."

Soon after this, he was taken sick, and, during his waking hours, the goodness and mercy of God were almost his perpetual theme. As there was no prospect of relief from medical aid, he desired that he might remain as quiet as possible, saying, "All I want is heaven; — Lord, receive my spirit!" He requested those about him to unite in prayer that he might be preserved in patience to the end. Then said, "My pain is great; my God, grant me patience, humble, depending patience." And quoted the passage: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." He repeated, with great fervency, a considerable part of the Lord's Prayer, and said, "Oh, how precious a thing it is, to feel the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirits that we are his." "Oh! this soul is an awful thing; I feel it so! You, that hear me, mind, it is an awful thing to die; the invisible world, how awful!" His end now fast approaching, he said, "I entreat that nothing may be done for me, except what I request, that my mind may not be diverted, that my whole mind may be centred in aspiration to the throne of Grace." "Almighty Father, come quickly, if it be thy will, and receive my spirit." He lay a while, the conflict being apparently over, but, feeling again the clogs of mortality, he said, in a low voice, "I thought I was gone;" and added, "Christ Jesus, receive my spirit." He then quietly departed, and entered into rest, about half past four o'clock in the morning of Twelfth month 30th, 1799, in the seventieth year of his age.

He was buried on New-Year's day, 1800; his remains being taken to the meeting-house, where Nicholas Waln and another Friend were solemnly engaged in Gospel ministry, and Rebecca Jones, though an invalid, was in attendance.

4. Jacob Lindley was born in the Ninth month, 1744. His residence was at New Garden, Chester County, Pa.

About the thirtieth year of his age he was called to the ministry of the gospel, and by keeping humble and watchful he grew in his gift, becoming a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly "dividing the word of truth." It has been said of him, that "for the space of forty years few pastors have more faithfully labored with their flocks, calling them to repentance, and warning them in the most emphatic language to have their accounts in readiness against the awful close of time." "His agreeable manners and engaging turn of mind, tending to open his way among all classes and denominations of people, rendered him peculiarly useful in spreading the light of the gospel; his conversation being truly interesting and instructive."

He was one of those who bore a faithful testimony against the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage, before his fellow-members in the Society of Friends had been fully awakened to the magnitude of the evil.

He was deeply interested for the welfare and civilization of the Indians, several tribes of whom he visited on the northern frontiers of the United States, at a time when hostilities existed between them and the white people; and he was usefully engaged, with others of his own Society, in conciliating the minds of the natives, and disposing them towards peace.

It was, however, in regard to the descendants of the African race held in bondage that the most strenuous efforts of his benevolent mind were exerted. He not only labored in his own society, so long as the members of it continued to hold slaves, but on all occasions, where his lot was cast among those who continued to countenance the unrighteous traffic in human flesh, he faithfully and tenderly warned them of the danger to which they were exposing themselves, and the distress it would bring upon them in a dying hour, if they continued in a practice so repugnant to justice and humanity.

He seldom failed, in the yearly meetings of Friends, to hold up to view, in a very affecting manner, the cause of that afflicted people, exciting commiseration for their sufferings, and recommending the exercise of the spirit of prayer to the great Controller of events for their deliverance.

On one occasion, while attending Baltimore Yearly Meeting, he exclaimed, in his usual emphatic manner: "From the place where I now stand to the utmost confines of Georgia, blood touches blood, and cries to God for vengeance upon this nation." [1]

He survived two valuable wives, both of whom were ministers of the gospel. Concerning his second wife, Hannah, who, when he married her, was the widow of William Miller, a memorial by New Garden Monthly Meeting has been preserved. She is represented as one who had faithfully improved the talents intrusted to her, fulfilling her domestic and religious duties, and being a bright example of the Christian character.

[1] Related to me by an aged Friend, now deceased.

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ılocated by the fall.

Thus suddenly terminated his life on
ə Sixth month, 1814, in the 70th year c
5. Thomas Scattergood was born in
ırlington, New Jersey, in 1748, of p
ere members of the Society of Friends.
was deprived by death of a father's ca
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In this unhappy condition, being visit
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labor in the Lord's vineyard. In this service he travelled both in the northern and southern States, preaching the gospel with acceptance and returning in peace.

In the year 1794 he went to England, and during several years was assiduously engaged in religious labor, having the near unity and fellowship of Friends in the several counties where his lot was cast.

"He was much devoted to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, and through the efficacy of heavenly love, was at times enabled to say, it was more to him than his necessary food." Being frequently engaged in inward retirement, his mind became strengthened and preserved in watchfulness against those things which interrupt the aspirations of the soul towards the Fountain of everlasting life.

"His sympathy with the afflicted was often manifest; and the situation of those in necessitous circumstances peculiarly claiming his tender regard, occasioned his frequently bringing to the notice of his brethren their suffering condition, in order that benevolent endeavours might be exerted for their alleviation. He was so tender of the reputation of all, that he could not take the liberty of expressing anything to lessen it, nor was he easy to hear others in such a practice."

In his last illness, a friend sitting by him expressed that he felt a peaceful solemnity; he replied, "So do I; my mind is centred in quiet peaceful resignation." On the next day, those about him apprehended he was near departing, but reviving a little, he said, "This is the last piece of the garment that is to be worked up; and if I can be favoured to join the

righteous of every generation, it will be enough." After a pause he continued, "Well, I don't know that I have much to say for myself; I leave it to the Lord, the shepherd that sleepeth not by day nor slumbereth by night; who watcheth over his children and over his flock."—"I hope that a righteous generation will be raised up and preserved as a seed." Again he proceeded, "Oh, if we can be but favoured to take some of that love with us, the end crowns all; I have nothing to boast of; I have been baptized into many low places and raised up again." He quietly and peacefully departed the 24th of the Fourth month, 1814, and doubtless entered into the rest prepared for the righteous.

6. Hannah Fisher was the daughter of Thomas and Mary Rodman, and was born at Newport, Rhode Island, in the Fourth month, 1764. Her father dying when she was very young, the care of a large family devolved upon her mother, whose exemplary and judicious deportment proved a blessing to her children. In the year 1793, Hannah Rodman was united in marriage with Samuel R. Fisher, of Philadelphia, and became a member of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia for the Southern District. In the year 1800, after a season of deep exercise, she came forth in the ministry, and being faithful in the little first communicated, experienced an enlargement in the gift, to the comfort and relief of many.

Her sympathizing spirit was often drawn to visit the afflicted and qualified to speak a word in season to the weary. To the poor she was a liberal, judicious, and feeling friend. Her illness was short, but the result was not alarming to her. For several days previous to the solemn close, she was at various

times engaged in expressing to the members of her family and other friends, lively exhortation, tender acknowledgment, or pertinent remarks on the necessity of being prepared for the final change. To a friend sitting by her she said, "I have desired that my children may give up in the morning of their day and join hand-in-hand with the faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard;" adding, "I feel nothing in my way. I feel thankful in my bed of sickness that I have given up in the cross to my natural inclination, having been favoured to keep the furniture of the house and my clothing plain and simple."

At another time, addressing her children, she said, "Live in love, my dear children; may you all live in love; it will sweeten every bitter cup; there is no comfort without it." Again, "All is done, all is done; I feel so resigned, so sweet; I feel as if I were already in heaven." At another time she said, her illness had been a time of suffering to the body but not to the mind; that all was comfortable there; adding, "What a mercy! that when the body is in suffering, the mind should be preserved in such tranquillity." Her affliction of body appeared to be great; and she once expressed, she thought a part of it might be on account of survivors, that they might see it would not do to put off the day's work until the evening; that it was enough then to have bodily suffering. In the night previous to her close she said, "Lord, I love thee; Lord, thou art with me; I love thee because thou hast heard my supplication. Bless the Lord, O my soul!" About an hour before she ceased to breathe, she sweetly expressed, "The Lord is with me;" clearly conveying to the minds of those present, her resignation to

this allotment of unerring wisdom, and her thankful sense of his supporting arm under it. She died the 12th of the Ninth month, 1819, in the fifty-sixth year of her age.

7. George Dillwyn's early life and some of his religious labors have already been noticed. On his first visit to Europe, being accompanied by his wife Sarah Dillwyn, he remained seven years, occupied, most of the time, in religious labors in Great Britain and on the Continent. He then returned to his native land for two years, and again accompanied by his wife, in the spring of 1793, proceeded to Great Britain, where he continued for nine years laboring as he was favored with ability, for the good of the churches, until the year 1802, when he returned and settled in Burlington, New Jersey, remaining there until the close of his long and devoted life.

"Having been as a faithful servant diligent in the morning and meridian of the day, he was permitted to pass its declining period much in retirement, seldom going from home, except on short journeys. His daily conduct evinced a desire to live under the influence of the Spirit of Christ, and when he made little calls amongst his neighbours, after having cheered and brightened the social scene, for which he had a special talent, by his pleasant converse, such was his sense of the value of retirement and his desire for the good of others, that on these occasions he was not unfrequently drawn into silent travail and vocal expression." He was considered eminent as a minister of the gospel, was much beloved for his social qualities, and exemplified in practice the heavenly truths that he preached.

In old age, he continued diligently to attend the

religious meetings of Friends, and in the winter of 1820, while on his way to the meeting-house, he fell upon the ice in the street, which injured his hip-bone so seriously as to confine him to the house.

During nearly five months of much bodily suffering, his Christian character shone with increasing brightness, as he approached "the house appointed for all living." "Within the last two or three weeks he said, 'There is a comfort over which disease has no power,' and after a favoured opportunity in religious retirement, hopefully remarked, 'Now I am prepared to adopt the language, Lo! the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.'" Speaking of his approaching death, he said to his beloved wife, "My dear, I have good news for thee; there is a mansion prepared for thee and for me." With the appearance of a sweet slumber, he sank to his eternal rest, the 23d of the Sixth month, 1820, in the eighty-third year of his age.

8. William Savery was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750, and was educated in the principles of Christianity as professed by the Society of Friends.[1] He was placed with a Friend in the country to learn the tanning business, and after the expiration of his apprenticeship returned to the city.

He then associated with those who were much inclined to vanity and folly, and seeking for pleasure in the gratification of his natural propensities, wandered far from the Father's house. "I may acknowledge," he writes, "that, notwithstanding my revolt

[1] Journal of William Savery, Friends' Library, Vol. I.

and turning aside from the paths of purity and peace, the Lord has been graciously near me all my life-long, and has watched over me as a tender Father for good, smitten me by his spirit when I have been rebelling against his holy law written in my heart, making merry over the Divine witness there; and has reached to me and tendered me in the midst of mirth and jollity. He often followed me to my chamber, and upon my pillow has drawn tears of sorrow and contrition from me, when none had been privy to it but his All-seeing Eye; so that my days of joy and laughter have often produced nights of sorrow and weeping."

In the year 1778, attending a meeting at Merion, held after an interment, he was on that solemn occasion deeply impressed with serious thoughtfulness. In the same year he was married, and having settled in business in Philadelphia, he endeavored to regulate his conduct and conversation, and be just in his dealings towards men, hoping to attain a fair standing in society, and to satisfy his conscience without a full surrender of his affections to the Divine government.

In relation to this stage of his experience he writes: "How can I sufficiently adore my great and good Master, for his continued regard and care over me, in that he did not suffer me to remain long in this state of delusion and error. He disturbed my false rest and made me at times exceedingly uneasy with it, and gave me at length to see that notwithstanding my regularity of behaviour and all my boasted attainments, I fell far short of that purity which all the vessels in the Lord's house must come to; and that I was yet under the law which cannot make the

comers thereunto perfect; not having passed under the flaming sword, nor felt the day of the Lord to come, which burns as an oven." * * * "It pleased him to lead me as into the wilderness, and to give me a sight of my former disobedience and folly. Oh! the bitterness and distress that covered me when I was alone or in meetings. I experienced but few pleasant draughts of his love; my meat was gall and wormwood, and my drink of the bitter waters of Marah."

After enduring for some months these trying baptisms, sometimes alleviated by gleams of comfort, and then again being plunged deeper in distress, he was at length visited with the dayspring from on high, and in the full assurance of Divine favor, cried aloud, "Oh! now I know that my Redeemer liveth."

In the year 1779, while accompanying a Friend on a religious visit in Virginia and Carolina, William Savery first opened his mouth in the gospel ministry. His gift as a minister was acknowledged by the Monthly Meeting in the year 1781, and he subsequently travelled much in the service of the gospel.

In 1781, he attended meetings in Maryland; in 1785, he was engaged in a gospel mission to New York and New England; and in 1791, he went on the same errand to the Southern States. In Charleston, South Carolina, he found the Meeting of Friends was reduced to about fifteen members; but he had crowded audiences in the Methodist and Baptist meeting-houses, where he was enabled to preach the gospel in the authority of Truth.

His soul was burdened with distress on account of slavery and its ruinous effects upon the people. After leaving Charleston, he writes: "On our road

we met between thirty and forty negroes of both sexes almost naked, some of them lame and decrepit, travelling to Ashley bridge a considerable distance off, there to be put up and sold at vendue. This made our hearts sad and caused the reflection, certainly there is a righteous and omniscient Judge that commiserates the poor and oppressed, and takes cognizance of the actions of hard-hearted and merciless oppressors, and by terrible things in righteousness will sooner or later plead the cause of the afflicted. It is sorrowful that because judgment against an evil work is not speedily executed, the hearts of men are set to do evil." * * * *

"We rode through many rice swamps, where the blacks were very numerous, great droves of these poor slaves working up to the middle in water, men and women nearly naked; a peck of corn is their miserable subsistence for a week. A gloomy sadness covered them, so as scarcely to admit of the interchange of a sentiment. O Christianity and humanity, how are ye disgraced! Where will such astonishing horrible conduct end?"

After visiting meetings in North Carolina and Virginia, he returned to his home with the reward of peace.

In the year 1793, William Savery, with other Friends of Philadelphia Meeting, being under a religious concern to visit the Indians, and having received the approbation of their meetings, as well as the consent of the Federal Executive, attended a council at Sandusky, convened in order to make a treaty of peace. Much of the country through which they passed was a wilderness, and their journey,

which occupied four months, was attended with great fatigue and exposure.

The following year he attended an Indian treaty at Canandaigua, in the State of New York. In both these journeys he found opportunities for religious service among the Indians and others, and preached the gospel with acceptance.

In the spring of 1795, he attended Virginia Yearly Meeting, and had appointed meetings in Richmond, Manchester, and other places in that section of the State. The following year he embarked for Europe on a gospel mission, which occupied him about two years and a half.

He had for fellow-passengers in the ship Sussex bound for Liverpool, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, ministers from England, then on their homeward voyage after performing a very acceptable visit to the Churches in America; also Samuel Emlen, Sarah Talbott, and Phebe Speakman, going to England on the same religious errand.

At that time there were in Europe an unusual number of ministering Friends from America; among them were Nicholas Waln, Thomas Scattergood, David Sands, and George Dillwyn.

William Savery, after attending meetings at Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London, went to Pyrmont, in Germany, and to Congeines, in the south of France, to visit a little flock at each of those places who professed the principles of Friends. Accompanied by George Dillwyn, David Sands, William Farer, and Benjamin Johnson, he went through many towns and villages in Germany, seeking for religious people and preaching the gospel. Being able to speak German, he could readily make him-

self understood, and frequently interpreted for his companions.

In his travels through France, he was accompanied by David Sands and Benjamin Johnson. At Congeines they were lodged at the house of Louis Majolier, a minister, and the leading man in that little community of simple-hearted, affectionate Friends. William Savery writes in his diary: "I never was in a country where there was more unaffected simplicity than here. Shepherds and shepherdesses are scattered about, tending their flocks, and knitting or spinning at the same time; having very few cows or goats, they milk the ewes, which afford them a sufficiency, and they think the milk richer than cows' milk.

"In the evening we had some conversation with them on their present state as to religion; and from the information of —— Robinel, an ancient man, it appears that for sixty years at least, there has been a number of religious people in this neighborhood, who had separated from the common ways of worship, and were by some called Inspirants. Their attention was first turned to Friends by information in the public papers of a young man who came to Paris and advertised that the owners of a vessel and cargo, which was taken by the British in the war with America and France, were requested to come forward and claim their several proportions of the said vessel and cargo; and that his father, who was part-owner of the ship which took the French vessel, was a Quaker, and did not desire to hold their property, as it was inconsistent with his conscientious scruples. They then made inquiry respecting the principles of Friends, and found them much the same

as their own. After this, being visited by Sarah Grubb and other Friends, and confirmed in their sentiments, they continued to profess the principles of our religious society, and have passed through many trials lately, some having been imprisoned. They were truly glad to see us, believing we had come in an acceptable time."

On William Savery's return from the Continent, he spent much time in Great Britain and Ireland, finding great openness among the people to hear the truths of the gospel. He remarks, in his diary, that he seldom felt authorized to appear in the ministry among Friends; that is, where there were none others present. His mission appears to have been to the public at large, and wonderful were the effects of his earnest and impressive discourses among the multitudes of all persuasions who flocked to hear him.

On one occasion, however, when about to leave the city of London, he had a meeting appointed for Friends only. It proved to be very large, and was eminently crowned with Divine favor.

Having discharged his religious duty to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, he returned to his family and friends in the Tenth month, 1798.

He labored diligently in his temporal business for the support of his family, as well as for the relief of the poor, whose wants his liberal mind was ever ready to supply, according to his ability.

In 1802, the part of Philadelphia where he resided was visited with a pestilential disease, which carried off many in a very short time, when he, not being willing to desert his post, was much engaged in visiting the sick and afflicted, both Friends and others, administering counsel and consolation in the

love of the gospel. In the following year, the city was again visited with the same awful scourge, and he devoted himself night and day to relieve the distressed.

In the spring of 1804, being mostly confined to the house by sickness, he expressed his resignation to the Divine will; and, notwithstanding his abundant and efficacious labors in the service of his Lord and Master, he entertained very humble views of himself, observing, "I thought I was once strong for the work, but now I am a child brought back to my horn-book, and have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God, through Christ my Saviour."

A short time before his death, under a sense of Divine favor, he exclaimed, "Glory to God!" He continued in great composure of mind, and departed this life the 19th of the Sixth month, 1804, in the 54th year of his age.

9. Richard Jordan was born in the county of Norfolk, State of Virginia, the 19th of the Twelfth month, 1756. His parents, who were members of the Society of Friends, endeavored to train him in the principles and practice of their religious persuasion.

When he was twelve years of age, the family removed to North Carolina, and became members of Richsquare Meeting. In early life he was deeply impressed by the tendering visitations of the Holy Spirit; but, not abiding under this religious exercise, he gradually gave way to the temptations that beset his path, until his mind became alienated from the source of all true comfort. In this condition, it pleased the Shepherd of Israel to bring him under a deep sense of judgment and condemnation. After a painful conflict of mind, which at times was expe-

rienced during several years, he was mercifully enabled to surrender himself to the Divine government, and to obtain the reward of peace.

When he married, his father offered him several slaves to assist in his agricultural labors; but he refused to receive them, being fully convinced that the practice of slaveholding is inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel and the precepts of Christ. While applying his hands to hard labor, he felt a peaceful conscience in the course he had taken, and became an advocate for the oppressed people of color, many of whom were then being liberated by members of the Society of Friends.

In the twenty-fifth year of his age, Richard Jordan, under a sense of religious duty, expressed a few words in a meeting for worship, which yielded to his oppressed and afflicted soul an indescribable sense of joy. His appearances in the ministry were for a long time brief and not frequent; but keeping to the root of Divine life, he grew in his gift, and became an acceptable preacher of the gospel.

In the year 1797, he was engaged on a gospel mission to New York and New England; and in 1802, with the approbation of his friends, he embarked for Europe on the same religious service, which occupied him more than two years.

After his return he removed with his family to Hartford, Connecticut, being impressed with a sense of duty to labor as a minister in that vicinity. He remained there about five years, and then removed to New Jersey, and settled at Newton, within the limits of Haddonfield Monthly Meeting.

He departed this life the 14th of the Tenth month, 1826, in the seventieth year of his age.

In the memorial concerning him, issued by Had-

donfield Monthly Meeting, he is described as an able minister of the gospel devoted to the service of his heavenly Master.

CHAPTER V.

MEMORIALS OF AMERICAN FRIENDS, CONTINUED.

1800–1828.

1. ELIAS HICKS, son of John and Martha Hicks, was born in the township of Hempstead, Queens County, Long Island, on the 19th of the Third month, 1748. His father was a grandson of Thomas Hicks, who is honorably mentioned by Samuel Bownas, in his Journal, as having given him much comfort and encouragement, when imprisoned, for his religious testimony, at Jamaica, on Long Island.

About the seventeenth year of his age, Elias Hicks was apprenticed to learn the trade of a house-carpenter and joiner. Being required to go from place to place in pursuit of his business, he was exposed to much unprofitable company, and the tender impressions of Divine grace, which had visited him in his early years, were, in some measure, effaced. But the heavenly monitor did not forsake him, though he often strove to stifle its convictions; it followed him in judgment and in mercy, until a willingness was wrought in him, to give up all to follow Christ in the regeneration. On one occasion, when preparing to join in the dance, and surrounded by his jovial companions, the pure witness rose so powerfully in his mind, and so clearly set before him the evil ten-

dency of the course he was pursuing, that he reasoned not with flesh and blood, but gave up to the heavenly vision, and in deep contrition and prostration of soul entered into covenant with the God of his life, that, if he would be pleased to furnish him with strength, he would endeavor not to be again found in the like disobedience; which covenant, through mercy, he was favored to keep inviolate. His father was a slaveholder, and on that account was visited by a committee of Friends who endeavored to convince him of the evil of the practice. Elias, being then a young man, and possessed of the prevailing ideas on that subject, resented the labors of the Friends as an unwarrantable interference with the rights of property. After he had stated his objections, the committee, in a feeling manner, exposed the unchristian practice of holding in bondage and making merchandise of our fellow-creatures; they appealed to his sense of justice, his feeling of humanity; and such was the power of their address, that his judgment was convinced and his conscience enlightened, so that he became himself an advocate for freedom. He was the guardian of the freedmen liberated by his father, attending to their wants, supporting them in their old age, and leaving a bequest to the survivors for their maintenance.

In the twenty-sixth year of his age, he was brought, through the operation of Divine grace, to see, that although he had ceased from many of the vanities of his youth, yet there was much evil still remaining, for which he felt the righteous judgment of God to rest upon him. He cried earnestly to the Most High for pardon and redemption, which he believed was mercifully granted, and as he abode in watchfulness and

humility, the light broke forth from obscurity, and his darkness became as noonday.

In the year 1775, he was constrained by a sense of duty to utter a few words in a meeting for worship, which brought the reward of peace; and as he continued watchful and obedient, he grew in the exercise of his gift and became eminent as a minister of the gospel.

At the time he was acknowledged as a minister, the war of the American Revolution was in progress; the British forces held Long Island, and the American army was in possession of the main land adjacent. Meetings on the Island were steadily kept up, and such was the confidence reposed in Friends by the officers of both armies, that ministers visiting the meetings were permitted to pass through the lines. Elias Hicks writes in his Journal: "I passed through the lines of both armies six times during the war without molestation, both parties generally receiving me with openness and civility, and although I had to pass over a tract of country, between the two armies, sometimes more than thirty miles in extent, and which was much frequented by robbers, a set in general of cruel, unprincipled banditti, issuing out from both parties, yet, excepting once, I met with no interruption, even from them."

After he became engaged in the gospel ministry, he attended the meetings that were held under the direction of the Monthly Meeting for the benefit of the colored people, and was eminently serviceable therein. He also appointed meetings among them for Divine worship; and when he was engaged in performing religious visits to families, he was careful to have the colored people called in to enjoy the privilege of social worship. During the inclemency

of winter he was very thoughtful of the poor, visiting them in their dwellings, and contributing to their comfort. This he did without respect of color; but for the poor ignorant blacks his commiseration was especially excited, with an earnest desire that they might enjoy the benefits of education. When he opened his views on this subject to his friends, showing the justice and necessity of providing means to educate the colored children, they concurred with him, and a fund was raised, the interest of which has been yearly appropriated to that purpose. This fund was placed under the control of a benevolent association, and hundreds have reaped the benefits of their liberality.

Having married the daughter and only child of Jonathan Seaman, he came into possession of a valuable farm at Jericho, Long Island, where he resided the residue of his life. The estate had consisted in part of slaves; and when the funds came under the control of Elias Hicks, he separated that part which had been derived from the sale of slaves formerly held, and applied it to their redemption and liberation.

He was scrupulously just in his dealings, and so conscientious that in times of scarcity he sold the products of his farm to his poor neighbors, at rates much below the market-value. During the war of the Revolution, when wheat was three dollars per bushel, he reserved his to sell to the poor around him at a much lower price, and refused to sell to speculators.

He was remarkably plain and simple in his dress and in the furniture of his house, and he felt it required of him to inculcate this practice as a religious duty. At one time he carried his views on this sub-

ject to such an extreme that he did not approve of the female members of his family cultivating flowers, deeming it far better to employ the time in reading or some profitable employment. It is said, that towards the close of life, his views on this subject were considerably modified. During the severe convulsion through which the Society passed at the time of the separation, he saw that mere plainness of dress was no certain indication of a Christian character, and that the most sanctimonious exterior was sometimes the covering of a bitter and censorious spirit.

He was an indefatigable laborer in the cause of righteousness, travelling frequently and extensively to visit the churches, and his services during a period of thirty-five or forty years met with very general approval in the Society of Friends. His doctrinal views afterwards became a subject of controversy among Friends, and will claim our attention in the sequel.

In declaring what he believed to be the counsel of God he was fearless, and his ministry, though unadorned with the embellishments of human learning, was clear and powerful.

The following description of him is from the "Christian Examiner and General Review:"

"Elias Hicks was a most remarkable man. Though more than eighty when we had the pleasure of listening to him, few men have ever made so deep an impression upon us. His figure was tall, his proportions muscular and athletic, his face of the Roman cast, intellectual and commanding, his voice deep, his gesture dignified and graceful. He had perhaps as much of what is called *presence* as any man who could be named. The knowledge that he was to speak had drawn together a large assembly, which was sitting,

when we entered, in the most profound silence. Statuary could not have been more still. Not a limb stirred, not a garment rustled, not a breath was heard. At length this venerable figure rose like an apparition from another world, and poured forth a strain of natural eloquence that is not often surpassed."

He spent a calm and peaceful old age in the full possession of his faculties. So greatly was he respected for his integrity and sound judgment, that he was often called upon to reconcile differences among his neighbors, and his salutary counsel was seldom rejected. In the years 1828 and '29, when upwards of eighty years of age, he performed an extensive visit to Friends and others in parts of the yearly meetings of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana, and New York. His gospel labors during these arduous and extensive journeys were productive of peace to his own mind, and were peculiarly seasonable and acceptable to his friends.

In the year 1829 he met with a severe affliction in the decease of his beloved wife, with whom he had lived in near union and affection for fifty-eight years.

On the 14th of the Second month, 1830, just as he finished writing a letter to his old friend Hugh Judge, he was paralyzed in his right side and nearly deprived of the power of speech. Being assisted to a chair near the fire, he signified by signs his desire that all should sit down and be still. The solemn composure at this time manifest in his countenance was very impressive, indicating that he was sensible the time of his departure was at hand, and that the prospect of death brought no terrors with it. Near the close of his last letter he said: "If we are favoured to gain an inheritance in that blissful abode, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, we

must ascribe it all to the unmerited mercy and loving-kindness of our Heavenly Father, who remains to be God over all blessed forever."

He lingered nearly two weeks, growing gradually weaker; and it was remarked that one of his last efforts was to signify he wished his attendants to remove from his bed a cotton coverlet that had inadvertently been placed there; for he had during many years been conscientiously opposed to the use of all goods produced by slave labor. On the 27th of the same month he quietly passed away and doubtless entered the realm of everlasting joy.

2. Edward Stabler was born at Petersburg, Virginia, on the 28th of the Ninth month, 1769. Having early in life yielded obedience to the divine law written in the heart, he was enabled to escape, in a great measure, the contamination of evil example, and was led into secret communion with the Author of all good. In his twentieth year he became an assistant of his brother William in the apothecary business, in Leesburg, Loudoun County, Virginia. His leisure hours were mostly employed in the acquisition of knowledge, for which he had a keen relish, and his reading on literary and scientific subjects was extensive.

In the year 1792 he settled in Alexandria, where he opened an apothecary and drug store, and boarded in the family of John Butcher, a worthy Friend and minister, who exercised a paternal care of the young men that were members of his family. In 1798, Edward Stabler was appointed an elder of Fairfax Monthly Meeting, of which the Friends in Alexandria were at that time members. As their number had much increased with the growth of the town, and as Fairfax Monthly Meeting was held at the dis-

tance of forty-five miles, they applied for the establishment of a Monthly Meeting in Alexandria, which being granted, it was opened in the Ninth month, 1802.

In the latter part of 1804, Edward Stabler spent some months as care-taker and companion of Ann Alexander, a minister from England, who, with her female associate, paid a religious visit in the Southern States. The hold which religious impressions had taken upon his mind was strengthened by the occurrences of this journey. The travellers, as they passed through the slaveholding States and mingled with the people, were burdened with a sense of the spiritual darkness and hardness of heart that prevailed, which they attributed to the oppression inflicted upon the colored people held in degrading bondage.

In the Sixth month, 1806, Edward Stabler made his first appearance in the ministry. To prepare him for this service, he had passed through many deep baptisms. To these were added, soon after, a severe bereavement in the decease of his wife, who had been a faithful and sympathizing companion.

He subsequently married Mary, the daughter of William Hartshorne, who proved to be like the virtuous woman described in the Proverbs: "She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness." The ministry of Edward Stabler is described, in the Memorial concerning him, by Alexandria Monthly Meeting, in the following language: "There is a cloud of living witnesses who can testify to the pure and evangelical value of his ministry; calling the people from *names* to *things*, — from the empty *shadow* to the living substance. Actu-

ated by the spirit and love of the gospel,—the distinguishing mark of true discipleship, which knows no distinction of sects and parties,—he was induced frequently to leave his temporal concerns, and travel extensively in the ministry; in which service his labours were very acceptable to those for whose sake they were undertaken."

His colloquial powers were very remarkable, and his mind being stored with knowledge, his company was highly prized by all, but more especially by reflecting minds among the young, whom he loved to draw around him. Whatever might be the subject of conversation, he generally imparted useful information in eloquent language; but almost invariably before he closed his remarks, he had led his hearers to the consideration of some important religious principle.

During that painful controversy which agitated and finally divided the Society of Friends, he remained calm and unruffled, manifesting at all times the meekness and forbearance of a Christian spirit.

He died in peace at Alexandria, the 18th of the First month, 1831, in the sixty-second year of his age.

3. Thomas Wetherald was born in Bainbridge, Yorkshire, England, on the 14th of the First month, 1791. He had a birthright and education in the Society of Friends, but in his youth, it appears, from his own account, that he wandered far from the Heavenly Father's house, led astray by the allurements of the world, and the delusive promptings of an unrestrained imagination. Through the adorable mercy of Infinite Goodness, he was not permitted to rest in this state, but was closely followed by "the reproofs of instruction which are the way of life;" and

being at length met with as "in the cool of the day," he was brought under deep condemnation on account of his transgressions. In this situation, under much humiliation of spirit, being reduced to a state of great mental conflict and self-abasement, when, as he himself expressed it, "the heavens appeared as brass and the earth as iron," he was taught by the things which he suffered, and felt desires to return to the Father's house. He essayed to approach the throne of grace, saying, "If I perish, I will perish at thy footstool begging mercy." When he became thus willing to submit to the divine government and to endure the fiery baptism, he received an assurance of pardon and acceptance, and became qualified to warn others, and declare unto them what God had done for his soul.

In the year 1819, with the concurrence of Friends, he removed with his family to the United States of America, and settled in Trenton, New Jersey. His gospel communications being accompanied with a lively demonstration of the life and power of truth, he was in due time recommended as a minister.

After a few years' residence in Trenton, he removed to the city of Washington, where his ministry was highly appreciated, being very eloquent, solemn, and impressive. In his business as a butcher, he evinced, by the uprightness of his dealings, that the true disciple of Christ may in any station be a preacher of righteousness, and that every useful avocation is compatible with a religious life. Having resided some years in Washington, he removed and settled on a farm near York, Pennsylvania, where his exemplary life and religious services endeared him to his friends and gained the respect of all.

Near the close of life, he expressed his unshaken

confidence in Divine goodness, saying, "Shall not the Judge of the whole earth do right?"

After patient endurance of much bodily suffering, he quietly departed this life, on the 1st of the Fifth month, 1832, in the forty-second year of his age.

4. Jesse Kersey was born at York, Pennsylvania, on the 5th of the Eighth month, 1768. His parents, William and Hannah Kersey, were members of the Society of Friends, and by their watchful care he was preserved from many of the corrupting influences that abound in the world.

In the sixteenth year of his age, he went to Philadelphia and became apprenticed to learn the trade of a potter. There he was exposed to temptation from the bad example and profane language of his shop-mates, but through Divine mercy he was enabled to resist the allurements of evil, and at length to exert a salutary influence upon his associates.

His mind being brought under deep religious exercise, the meetings of Friends for Divine worship became very precious to him; and in order to attend those held near the middle of the week, he was accustomed to rise very early and get his work so forward that no objection could be made to his going. His diligence and serious deportment did not long remain unnoticed; several young men of pious character sought his acquaintance and introduced him into their family circles, where he enjoyed the advantage of refined and intelligent society.

In his seventeenth year he was called to the gospel ministry, and on submitting to speak a few words in a religious meeting, he experienced, after he sat down, that serene, quiet state of mind which assured him he had not mistaken his duty. He felt many fears arising from a consideration of the sol-

emnity of the work; but as he kept humbly attentive to the voice of the true Shepherd, he found Divine grace was all-sufficient. In relation to the exercise of this gift he afterwards wrote as follows: "In all the experience I have had in the ministry, I have been convinced that much depends upon wholly relying on the all-sufficiency of Him who promised to be to his servants, both mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance. But as in every instance of the blessings of heaven, our wise Creator has left something for us to do, in order to come at the full enjoyment of them,—so I believe it to be in regard to the ministry of the gospel. The gift may be bestowed; but by the indolence or inattention of the servant, the materials for it to act upon may be wanting,—the means of improvement may be unoccupied: and, like the seed in a neglected soil, it may not be permitted either to flourish or become distinctly known to others in consequence of the obstructions to its growth, or the mixture of other things."

After his appearance in the ministry, he remained an apprentice in the city about four years, during which time he began to attract much attention on account of the impressiveness and perspicuity of his discourses.

On the termination of his apprenticeship he went to the neighborhood of East Caln, Chester County, where he kept a school. In the year 1790, he was united in marriage with Elizabeth the daughter of Moses Coates, and they settled in York, where he commenced business as a potter. After four years residence in that place he removed to East Caln, where he followed his trade until his health gave way and he was under the necessity of relinquishing the business. Having sold out his shop

and fixtures, he again resorted to teaching school for a livelihood; and notwithstanding his very limited circumstances, he found it his religious duty, at times, to leave his business in order to travel as a minister of the gospel.

In the year 1797, being offered a farm near Downingtown, on terms peculiarly liberal and advantageous, he concluded to accept it, hoping that with care and industry he might, in time, be able to buy it. On removing thither, he became a member of Uwchlan Monthly Meeting. "Upon a retrospect of the past," he says, "I have admired the wisdom of Divine Providence in suffering me to feel so much pressure, and occasions for so many fears and trials in relation to my temporal concerns. Had my case been a more independent one, I now have no doubt that the notice and attention which I received among the most respectable members of the Society would have raised in me a spirit of self-importance, which is opposed to the humility necessary for a Christian, and dangerous to a minister of the gospel."

Jesse Kersey was, at that time, one of the most eminent ministers of the Society, there being probably no other whose discourses were so eloquent or so generally admired.

A prospect of going on a gospel mission to England and Ireland had for some time dwelt upon his mind as a religious duty; at length, he laid the concern before his Monthly Meeting, where it was united with, and a certificate of unity and approbation was granted, which being produced at the Quarterly Meeting, was there indorsed. The rules of discipline required, however, that ministers going on a religious service to foreign lands, should have their certificates approved by the Yearly Meeting of ministers and

elders. The certificate of Jesse Kersey being accordingly laid before that meeting, was not fully united with, and he was released from the concern. Referring to this transaction, he says: "The comfort I felt on this occasion is not very readily described. I now began to have my hopes revived that I should be permitted to pursue my temporal business until I had laid a fair foundation for a comfortable living in my family. But although in the order of Society I had been excused from going on the extensive journey that had opened to my view,—yet it was not long before the concern returned, and I was constrained to lay it before Friends again. It was now united with, and I was set at liberty to pursue the prospect before me, as Truth might open the way."

He embarked for England in the summer of 1804, and after attending many meetings in that kingdom, proceeded to Ireland. He found the condition of the Society in those countries discouragingly low, owing, as he thought, to the love of the world having gained the ascendancy in many who were regarded as leaders of the people. After an absence of about a year he returned to his home, grateful to the Author of all good for preservation and peace of mind.

In the spring of 1814 he went on a religious mission to the Southern States, having in view, also, the subject of slavery, and a prospect of conferring with men in authority as to the best mode of removing it. He called on the President of the United States, James Madison, and thus relates their interview:—"He heard me attentively, and appeared to enter into the subject with some interest. He remarked that he had thought of the plan of removing the

slaves to Africa, as contemplated by Paul Coffee; but many objections had occurred to him against it. He had also thought of their being colonized; but in this difficulties also presented. In fact, difficulties would present in every plan that could be taken up. He said the only probable method that he could see to remedy the evil would be for the different States of the Union to be willing to receive them; and thus they would be spread among the industrious and practical farmers, and their habits, education, and condition would be improved. I felt a satisfaction to find that the subject had engaged his attention, and parted with him in an agreeable manner."

On his way to Richmond, and while in that city, Jesse Kersey had conversations with many prominent and influential men, most of them slaveholders, to whom he expressed his earnest desire that a way might be found for the removal of slavery. He found them all concurring in his view, that it was a deplorable evil, and most of them held opinions similar to those expressed by the President. It was thought to be a national concern that ought to receive the attention of the General Government.

On his return he met a select company of Friends, at Philadelphia, to whom he related the result of his inquiries in relation to the subject of slavery; but he thought they did not feel its importance so fully as would one day be necessary.

Having returned to his home, he continued to labor on his farm, which he had occupied for twenty years; but, not having yet paid for it, he concluded to sell it. Its value at that time would have enabled him to pay his debts and to have had a competency left, but on consulting his friends in the neighborhood, they dissuaded him from selling. Land soon

after began to decline in price. He was finally obliged to sell at about half what he could have had, and he found himself once more reduced to poverty.

"At length," he says, "under the pressure of various kinds of trial, my constitution seemed to fail, and I was overtaken with the typhus fever. This disease appeared to prostrate my physical strength, and desolate the remaining powers of the nervous system. In order to raise me above the fever, recourse was had to powerful stimulants." * * * * "I had no prospect of recovery. My physician gave me both laudanum and brandy, and recommended the frequent use of the latter in my case, as indispensable to my recovery.

"It was during this time of weakness, and under the pressure of my difficulties and trials, that I fell into the habit of drinking brandy, and thought my constitution required it. Yet I never indulged in a course of excess because of a disposition to rebel against my good and merciful Creator; but it was occasioned by reason of an overwhelming weight of weakness and incapacity to stand my ground."

On going to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, in 1823, he was informed of a report in circulation that he had become the victim of intemperance, and was advised by some of the members to return to his home, which he did under feelings of the utmost prostration. Some of his old familiar friends forsook him in this season of adversity, and, doubtless, there were many excellent persons who had too little charity for his weakness, having themselves never been tempted in the same manner.

In narrating his afflictions, he says: "The most trying of all was, that my character among Friends

had become so far blasted that it was thought proper by some to deny me the standing of a minister in the Society. I was accordingly removed from a seat in the meeting of ministers and elders. Under those circumstances, my poor soul was so far cast down that all prospect of recovery was frequently lost; and that which gave the greatest power and force to those feelings was a consciousness that I had not kept my place, but had frequently given way to an excessive use of stimulants, in order to conquer and soothe the horror of my situation." * * * "But, adored forever be the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls: his arm is not shortened that it cannot save, nor his ear grown heavy that it cannot hear. By the blessed interference of his adorable goodness, wisdom, and power, deliverance was miraculously furnished, and a way made for me to rise again into the glorious liberty of the ever blessed Truth. This I acknowledge with gratitude to have been nothing short of a Divine work. And having witnessed that my God is indeed a God of mercy and long-suffering kindness, I am humbly bound to speak well of His excellent name, and to magnify the arm of His power."

In the year 1827, two of his sons were removed by death, and two years later his only remaining son was taken, leaving him but two out of eleven children. Near the same time, his excellent and devoted wife was likewise called to her eternal home, concerning whom he has left in his Journal an affectionate and touching memorial.

It is satisfactory to know that in the evening of life he was relieved from care, and furnished with a comfortable home; surrounded by kind friends, and

enabled to preach the gospel "in demonstration of the spirit and of power."

In a testimony concerning him, by his friends and neighbors, they say: "As a minister, he was remarkably qualified to enlist the attention of his hearers, to fix their minds upon the glorious and sublime truths of the Christian religion, and often was he followed and admired by crowds of gratified auditors not of his own persuasion. In the morning of his promise, and the meridian of his day of usefulness, his society was courted by the wise and the learned, his affability of manners, his grave and dignified deportment, the soundness of his principles, the beauty and simplicity of his style of address, heightened in their effect by the depth of his devotional feelings, gave an interest and a charm which gained him many admirers."

He died near Kennet, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in the full assurance of a blessed immortality, on the 26th of the Tenth month, 1845, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

5. Nathan Hunt was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, the 29th of the Tenth month, 1758. His parents, William and Sarah Hunt, were members of the Society of Friends; the former a highly valued minister of the gospel, whose death, in England, has already been noticed.

In his youth, Nathan Hunt was often brought under the solemnizing influence of Divine grace, when sitting in religious meetings or attending funerals, and even at the age of seven years he was impressed with the belief that if he was faithful, he should one day have to preach the gospel. At seventeen, he experienced a visitation of Divine love, and the prospect of being called to the work of the ministry was again

presented; but for want of abiding under the solemn weight, he was induced to associate with jovial companions, and the impression grew fainter. At twenty, he married and settled on the homestead of his father; soon after he was closely tried by the sudden death of his mother. The Revolutionary War was then in progress, and he experienced much privation, being robbed of his horses, cattle, and other property, leaving him almost destitute of the means of subsistence; all of which he bore with Christian fortitude.

In relation to his first appearance in the gospel ministry, he writes: "After passing through great sufferings on account of the reluctance of nature to yield, I finally gave up to what appeared to be required of me, and in the twenty-seventh year of my age spoke a very few words in a meeting in Tennessee, which brought great peace and comfort into my mind. The first time I appeared in my own meeting, so great was my brokenness of spirit, that as I walked towards home, tears fell from my eyes like drops of rain." About the thirty-fifth year of his age, he was acknowledged as a minister by his monthly meeting, after which he frequently attended the neighboring meetings; but his first journey to a distance was in 1797, to Georgia and South Carolina. Before leaving home, he was much troubled at the thought of leaving his family, who were dependent upon the labor of his hands. One day, while following the plough, he heard a voice distinctly say to him, "Go, and thou shalt lack nothing, and they shall be cared for in thy absence." The impression was so convincing that he immediately gave up, accepting it as an intimation from the Lord. On his return, after an absence of six weeks, his faith was confirmed, for he found his family in health and com-

fort, and he had in his pocket the same sum of money with which he started.

Subsequently he performed many journeys in the service of the Gospel to various parts of the United States, and to Great Britain and Ireland. He was very generally known and much beloved throughout the Society of which he was, for sixty years, a standard-bearer in the cause of Truth. As a shock of corn fully ripe for the heavenly garner, he was gathered to his fathers in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

From an interesting Memoir of Nathan Hunt, the following passages are selected:[1] "He had naturally a clear and comprehensive mind, a vigorous intellect and sound discriminating judgment; but very few advantages of education. Indeed, he has been heard to say that the principal part of the learning he had was acquired by the light of a 'pine knot,' as he sat with his brothers and sisters round the family hearth, when the day's work was done. He was, however, deeply instructed in the School of Christ; and with the salutary discipline of the Cross he was made familiar from his early childhood. In later life there was a striking gravity and dignity about the dear old man, and at times a deep introversion of spirit which seemed to check the least approach to lightness and frivolity, and spread a holy quietness on all around him; so that it might, with great propriety, be said of *him*, as it was of the excellent founder of the Society of Friends, 'His very presence expressed a religious majesty." * * * * "Possessing an uncommon share of native eloquence, and dwelling very near to the alone source of all true Gospel ministry, he was

[1] Brief Memoir of N. Hunt. U. Hunt & Son, Phil'a, 1858.

indeed enabled to 'do the work of an Evangelist,' and there was such an unction and freshness attending his religious communications, they often made a deep impression on those that heard them."

CHAPTER VI.

MEMORIALS OF AMERICAN FRIENDS, CONTINUED.

1800–1828.

6. JOSEPH PARRISH was born in Philadelphia, on the 2d day of the Ninth month, 1779. His parents, Isaac and Sarah Parrish, were exemplary members of the Society of Friends, and endeavored to educate their numerous family in accordance with its principles. Joseph was the youngest of eleven children. At an early age, he experienced the tendering visitations of heavenly love, and was led to place his dependence upon the Author of his being for strength and preservation. Conscious of his own frailty, he was induced to seek opportunities for inward retirement, and thus becoming a devoted follower of our Divine Master, he was, among his young associates, an example of fidelity to the teachings of Divine light in the soul.

During his minority he remained under the parental roof, and learned from his father the trade of a hatter; but when he reached his twenty-second year, he engaged in the study of medicine, for which he had from his youth felt a strong predilection. In this profession he became eminent for his skill, and a wide field of usefulness was opened to him, which

he successfully occupied; ministering not only to the health and comfort of the body, but soothing, by his gentle manners and Christian deportment, the sorrows of the afflicted.

In the year 1808 he was married to Susanna, the daughter of John and Ann Cox, of Burlington, New Jersey. They were blessed with a numerous offspring, whom they endeavored to lead in the path of simplicity and Truth; instructing them by example and precept in the duties of a Christian life.

The high reputation attained by Doctor Parrish in the line of his profession, and the remarkable urbanity of his manners, exposed him to the temptations that always attend on public favor; but having taken up the cross of Christ, he was enabled to resist the allurements of worldly ambition. In a letter to a friend he said: "I have a love for the Truth, but have not been without my temptations to desert it; for I have known the day when the allurements of wealth and honor held out strong inducements to embark as a man of the world. A public station with which a large income was connected was, I believe, within my reach. Ambition whispered, that in thus pursuing the natural bent of my genius, I could fill the station with honor. It was an important era in my life. I had arrived at the fulness of manhood, and the language was, — Choose this day whom thou wilt serve. When I cast my eyes on our tender offspring, and felt the influence of a father's example upon them, — and when I could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that I had no greater joy than to see my children walking in the Truth; — then it was that I cast the temptation from me, — and I humbly trust, renewedly chose the Lord for my por-

tion and the God of Jacob for the lot of mine inheritance."

He was a diligent attender of religious meetings—warmly attached to the principles and testimonies of Friends, and, for several years previous to his decease, he occupied the station of an elder in the church,—showing forth in his life and conversation the efficacy of Divine Power and Love to purify the soul.

Feeling a lively interest in the aborigines of our country, he watched with deep concern those measures which affected their rights, and was frequently engaged in efforts to shield them from injury or promote their welfare.

To the people of color he was a steady friend and protector; occupying among his fellow-citizens a prominent place as one of the advocates of universal emancipation. To the poor, the ignorant, and the oppressed, he extended sincere sympathy and liberal aid, exhibiting through life a beautiful example of practical piety.

In his last sickness he said, "I have seen the great beauty of the Principle which we as a Society profess. It has been my stay and solace from my early childhood; and the more we know of it the more shall we be satisfied that it is founded on the Rock of ages." At another time, in which he had evidently been engaged in silent supplication, he remarked, "I have not been permitted to see how this illness will terminate. I have nothing to boast of; I have been an object of Divine mercy from my very childhood; and upon that I depend now. It is an unspeakable consolation to be permitted to see that an immortal crown is prepared for me." After these expressions, his countenance was clothed with a sweet

solemnity, and being asked whether he had been asleep, he replied, "Oh, no! I have been in a far more delightful state than sleep." A few hours before his close he repeated the declaration of our blessed Lord, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" and then added, with emphasis, "It is a truth; it was declared by the Minister of ministers." And soon after he said, "His arm is not shortened that it cannot save,—nor his ear grown heavy—" here his voice faltered, and he was unable to complete the sentence.

He quietly departed this life the 13th of the Third month, 1840, in the sixty-first year of his age.

7. John Comly was born in Byberry, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, the 19th of the Eleventh month, 1773. His parents, Isaac and Asenath Comly, were members of the religious Society of Friends. In the interesting and instructive Journal of John Comly, he mentions the care of his excellent mother in taking him, in childhood, to meetings for Divine worship, and the good impressions he then received while sitting by her side in solemn silence, or listening to the baptizing ministry of James Thornton.

On this subject he remarks, that "The incalculable advantage of taking little children to meetings and of habituating them early to the discipline of stillness, can never be fully appreciated. It may be the means of laying a foundation, very early in life, for the most exalted virtues. The seeds of Divine goodness thus planted, or that germinate in good wishes and good desires, when the infant mind is thus retired, may take deep root and bring forth early fruits of genuine religion—of love and obedience to parents—of sincere affection towards brothers and sisters and relatives. Under these solemnizing, ten-

der feelings, the pure, innocent, uncontaminated infant mind worships in spirit and in truth. It learns to love such opportunities — it delights to feel such a calmness and quietude — and it enjoys a heaven within."

One of the chief occupations of John Comly in his youth, was ploughing on his father's farm, which he found favorable to purity of life and religious contemplation. Heavenly goodness, light and love, often visited him while thus engaged, and he found in the silence and solitude of the fields seasons of heavenly enjoyment unknown in the bustle of life. He found that agricultural employments, while favorable to purity of mind and religious growth, did not prevent the cultivation of his intellectual powers and the increase of knowledge. He remarks in his Journal: "Oh! how many involve themselves in difficulties, expose themselves to temptations, and sacrifice their own mercies, by leaving the calm and quiet life of agriculture, and going to cities and villages to trades and business in which there are perplexities and anxieties, noise and unprofitable company, that tend to divert their attention from the one thing needful."

His relish for reading and thirst for knowledge induced him to peruse with care the few books within his reach; but he often felt the want of a large supply of literary and religious publications. The improvement of the mind is not only productive of innocent enjoyment, but conducive to virtue and religion, by opening a wider field of contemplation in which may be observed on every hand the evidences of Divine power and goodness.

About the fifteenth year of his age he felt a concern to attend week-day meetings, for although his mother was a diligent attender of them, his father

seldom went, and generally kept his son at home to assist him on the farm. As this desire increased, he at length asked permission to attend, which being granted, he became diligent in the performance of this religious duty, and had the satisfaction, some time after, to see his father adopt the same practice. His heart was deeply affected by the ministry of Job Scott, who visited Byberry Meeting in the First month, 1790. Describing the effect on his feelings, he writes: "Never before had I any recollection of such an instrumental visitation of Divine love. His ministry had a baptizing influence that immersed my soul into a holy feeling of good. The savour and sweetness thereof rested with me for a number of days. It was the gospel of Christ and glad tidings to the poor in spirit. It was the power of the Highest overshadowing my visited mind. The seeds of the kingdom of God were watered in my heart and encouragement administered to advance forward in the work of renovation."

In the ensuing spring, while following the plough, the mind of John Comly was powerfully arrested by the overshadowing of Divine love, and he was given to see the propriety of a practice which had not then been introduced in his father's family,—it was that of observing "a solemn silent pause at table, in which the mind might feel reverently thankful before partaking of the blessings of Heaven in the provision made for these bodies." Being faithful to his convictions of duty in this respect, he saw that his example had an influence on the other members of the family, and it became their common practice on sitting down to partake of their meals to observe a reverential pause.

In the spring of 1801, John Comly became one of the teachers at Westtown boarding-school, a situa-

tion that he accepted under a sense of religious obligation, and with a full appreciation of its responsible duties. His mind was often brought under religious exercise, and sometimes found relief in tender exhortations addressed to the pupils.

Near the close of the year 1802 he resigned his situation at Westtown, and having while there formed an acquaintance and engagement with Rebecca Budd, one of the teachers in the girls' department, they were united in marriage the following year. They settled at Byberry and opened there a boarding-school for girls, which was continued, with general approbation, six years, and then changed to a school for boys and young men. This was done in order to furnish young men with an opportunity to qualify themselves for school-teachers. The school was continued until the year 1815.

While engaged in teaching, his attention was turned to the improvement of school-books, and he compiled an English Grammar and a Spelling-book, which through a long course of years were highly appreciated by teachers, and adopted in a vast number of schools, in the Middle, Southern, and Western States.

Possessed of a vigorous mind and benevolent heart, he was assiduous in attending to his domestic and social duties, illustrating in practice the course of life recommended by John Woolman, of "serving the Lord in our temporal business."

"Although frequently engaged in religious labor, he was not called to the *public* exercise of the ministry until the latter part of the year 1810. His first communication in a meeting for worship was at Byberry, when, under a very solemn covering, he appeared in a testimony of considerable length. He

continued to occupy his gift to the satisfaction of Friends, and in the Seventh month, 1813, he was acknowledged by his Monthly Meeting as a minister in unity therewith."

He travelled much in the service of the gospel, and was eminently qualified both for public ministry and the administration of Church discipline, being remarkable for the clearness of his views, the perspicuity of his language, and the depth of his feelings. In meetings for discipline, his remarks, being wise and temperate, "seasoned with grace," gave him great influence in the Society.

In some of the proceedings connected with the separation of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1827, John Comly took an active part, which will be fully explained in narrating that deplorable event.

The purity of his motives cannot be questioned, and the meekness of his conduct during those trying scenes was in accordance with his well-known character. In relation to the animadversions and false charges made against him, he has left on record the following remarks: "I had intended to reply to the several unfounded and untrue charges and insinuations preferred against me in that pamphlet, in order to clear my character of them and attest my innocency. But pausing a little, I remembered, that when he whom I have called my Lord and Master, our great pattern, was accused by the chief priests and elders, 'he answered nothing;' and therefore why should I attempt a defence of my innocency, when heaven is my witness that I am not guilty of what was laid to my charge. So I laid down my pen, and committed my cause to Him who judgeth righteously and is a refuge of the oppressed."

After the separation he continued to be highly esteemed as a minister, and eminently useful in the administration of church discipline. He devoted much attention to the compilation and publication of Friends' writings, and, in conjunction with his brother, Isaac Comly, edited "Friends' Miscellany," a valuable collection of historical and biographical writings, relating chiefly to our religious Society.

His life of dedication and usefulness was closed in calmness and peace the 17th of the Eighth month, 1850, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

8. Isaac Tatem Hopper was born near Woodbury, New Jersey, in the year 1771. When he was sixteen years old he went to the city of Philadelphia to obtain a situation in a store, but not finding one, he accepted a home with his maternal uncle, who was a tailor, and learned his business. At that time there were in the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, several remarkable ministers, among whom were Nicholas Waln and William Savery. The preaching of these gifted ambassadors of Christ had a most salutary effect upon the feelings of Isaac T. Hopper, who was naturally endowed with a tender and impressible heart, a vigorous understanding, and an indomitable will. While sitting under their ministry, "his thirsty soul drank eagerly from the fountain of living water." "He never forgot those refreshing meetings. To the end of his days, whenever anything reminded him of William Savery, he would utter a warm eulogium on his deep spirituality, his tender benevolence, his cheerful, genial temper, and the simple dignity of his deportment."

At about twenty-two years of age, Isaac was received as a member of the Society of Friends, being thoroughly convinced that its principles and testimo-

nies were in accordance with primitive Christianity. "The plain mode of worship suited the simplicity of his character, while the principles inculcated were peculiarly well calculated to curb the violence of his temper, and to place his strong will under the restraint of conscience. Duties toward God and his fellow-men stood forth plainly revealed to him in the light that shone so clearly in his awakened soul. Late in life he often used to refer to this early religious experience as a sweet season of peace and joy. He said it seemed as if the very air were fragrant and the sunlight more glorious than it had ever been before."

Very early in life his sympathy was awakened for the oppressed and degraded people of color, and when he attained to manhood he commenced that course of determined and persevering efforts for their relief, which distinguished him through life. Among all his contemporaries there was perhaps no one more generally known as the protector of the slave and the friend of the distressed. The bondman fleeing from oppression found in him a faithful and sagacious counsellor; the inmates of prisons, when repentant of their crimes, were soothed by his sympathy, and gently led back to the path of virtue; and the distressed of every class were accustomed to look to him as a friend in time of need. He might, in truth, have adopted the language of Job, — "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."

The latter part of his life was spent in the city of New York, where he was, during some years, officially connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society. In the year 1845, he became agent of a Prison Association in that city, which office he resigned in

the Second month, 1852, being then past eighty years old. In the Fifth month following he died, in the full assurance of a happy immortality.

9. Richard Mott, son of James and Mary Mott, was born in the city of New York, the 10th of First month, 1767. A few years subsequently, his parents removed to Mamaroneck, West Chester County, in the same State, and he thus became a member of Purchase Monthly Meeting.

His mother dying while he was yet a child, he received from his worthy father the most careful attention in training his mind and directing his steps in the path that leads to peace. As he approached manhood, the gracious visitations of Divine Love, operating upon a heart thus prepared, were gradually gaining the ascendancy, though not without many mental conflicts. These he described as being at times almost insupportable; but there was a powerful arm that secretly sustained him. By this dispensation he was, without anticipating it himself, being prepared for the work of the ministry, into which he was soon after called.

In the year 1799, with the approbation of his Friends, he was engaged in a gospel mission to New England, and in 1801 he was similarly employed within the limits of Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly meetings. From that time forward until about the year 1823, a very large portion of his time was occupied in religious labors among Friends and others. Being richly endowed with intellectual gifts, and devoting them to the service of his Creator, he became an eminent minister of the gospel, and stood as a pillar in the church. For a long period he acted as clerk of New York Yearly Meeting, and exercised much influence in that body. During the exciting

controversy which eventuated in the separation of the Society into two bodies, both claiming the name of Friends, it was his lot to pass through many trying exercises, and to witness feelings of estrangement springing up where Christian fellowship had long existed.

"It was a comfort to him, in the latter years of his life, to perceive that these feelings were subsiding, and to meet with individuals to whom he had formerly been warmly attached, but with whom intercourse had been suspended, and to receive from them assurances of their continued kind remembrance."

He was remarkable for the urbanity of his manners and the cheerfulness of his disposition. He enjoyed a serene old age, and died in peace, the 29th of Seventh month, 1856, in the ninetieth year of his age.

10. Gerard T. Hopkins was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in the year 1769. His parents, John and Elizabeth Hopkins, were highly valued members of the Society of Friends, and through their fidelity he was instructed in the Christian principles they professed. He evinced in early life a religious concern to attend regularly the meetings of Friends, and manifested in his life and conversation that his heart had been brought under the refining operation of Divine grace.

About the year 1794, he settled in the city of Baltimore, and subsequently was called to the gospel ministry, in which he labored assiduously with the approbation of Friends.

He was deeply interested for the aborigines of our country, and in the year 1804, accompanied by George Ellicott, under an appointment of Baltimore Yearly

Meeting, he made a visit to the Indians near the river Wabash, in order to introduce among them the arts of civilized life. It was an arduous journey, performed on horseback through a wilderness country, and was attended with very satisfactory results.

He evinced early in life a lively interest in the welfare of the colored people, and labored earnestly to promote the abolition of slavery in Maryland.

After a life of great usefulness to the church and to the community at large, he was called to receive his eternal reward, the 27th of the Third month, 1834, about the 65th year of his age.

11. Joseph Foulke, son of Hugh and Ann Foulke, was born at Gwynedd, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, the 22d of Fifth month, 1786. His parents were exemplary Friends, and endeavored to educate their children in conformity with their Christian profession. Early in life he yielded obedience to the teachings of Divine grace, by which he was drawn into communion with the Father of Spirits. In accordance with his sense of religious duty, he became a teacher of youth, and, after having been some years engaged in that occupation, he established Gwynedd Boarding-school, which he successfully conducted for a period of about thirty years.

In the thirty-first year of his age, he began to speak in meetings for Divine worship, and his communications being acceptable to his friends, he was, in due time, acknowledged as an approved minister of the gospel. He travelled extensively in the exercise of his gift, and during the latter part of his life his mind was particularly drawn, in gospel love, to visit the inmates of prisons and alms-houses. For this service he was well adapted by his sympathizing spirit, which enabled him to enter into feeling with

the afflicted, and to apply the oil of consolation to the wounded soul.

In a memorial concerning him, issued by Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, it is said: "He was blessed in a marked degree with a kind, social disposition; and his hopeful nature tended to lead his mind into the brighter channels of thought, which rendered his society pleasant and agreeable to both old and young."

When the close of life drew nigh, he remarked: "I have been abundantly blessed during the course of a long life, and though I might in some instances have done better, yet I have endeavored to do the Master's will." On being asked if he felt peace of mind, he replied: "Oh yes; peace, sweet peace! I set out with the hope that I might be, and I have been, mercifully favored to keep the faith and patience through all." He departed this life as one falling into a sweet sleep, on the 15th of the Second month, 1863, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

12. Stephen Grellet was born the 2d of the Eleventh month, 1773, in the city of Limoges, in France.

He was called Etienne de Grellet du Mabillier, the affix, "du Mabillier," being derived from an estate owned by his father, who was a wealthy man, and ranked high among the nobility of that district.

The family of Grellet were Roman Catholics, and Stephen was educated in accordance with the traditions and practice of his ancestors, without the advantages that may be derived from reading the Holy Scriptures in the season of youth. During the French Revolution, the Grellet family were exposed to great peril, which induced Stephen and his brother Joseph to emigrate. They arrived in New York in the year 1795, and soon after went to Newtown, Long Island.

The serious impressions that had, in early life,

been made upon the mind of Stephen Grellet, had long since passed away; he "had become one of those infatuated ones that call good evil, and evil good, — darkness light, and light darkness, — and to so daring a pitch as to say, there is no God!"[1] In this unhappy condition, it pleased Divine goodness again to visit his soul with the day-spring from on high.

"Through adorable mercy," he says, "the visitation of the Lord was now again extended towards me, by the immediate openings of the Divine light on my soul. One evening, as I was walking in the fields, alone, my mind being under no kind of religious concern, nor in the least excited by anything I had heard or thought of, I was suddenly arrested by what seemed to be an awful voice proclaiming the words, 'Eternity! Eternity! Eternity!' It reached my very soul, — my whole man shook, — it brought me, like Saul, to the ground. The great depravity and sinfulness of my heart were set open before me, and the gulf of everlasting destruction to which I was verging. I was made bitterly to cry out, 'If there is no God, — doubtless there is a hell.' I found myself in the midst of it. For a long time it seemed as if the thundering proclamation was yet heard. After that I remained almost whole days and nights exercised in prayer, that the Lord would have mercy upon me, expecting that he would give me some evidence that he heard my supplication. But for this I was looking to some outward manifestation, my expectation being entirely of that nature."

A short time before this remarkable visitation, he

[1] Memoirs of the Life of S. Grellet, edited by Benjamin Seebohm. I. 15.

had met with the works of William Penn, and attempted to read them, but found no interest in their perusal; he now took them up again, and opened upon "No cross, no crown." The title alone reached his heart. He proceeded to read it with the help of a dictionary, having to look for the meaning of nearly every word. He read it twice through in this manner, and acknowledged that he had never before felt the Divine witness operating so powerfully on his feelings. Keeping himself much secluded from company, he read the Bible attentively, and waited upon God. He had previously been almost entirely unacquainted with the sacred records, having seen only detached portions of them in prayer-books.

While the fallow ground of his heart was thus being prepared for the reception of gospel truth, he heard that a meeting for Divine worship was appointed to be held at Friends' meeting-house by two Englishwomen. Accompanied by his brother, he attended, and found their names were Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young. The sight of them alone brought solemn feelings over him; but when he sat down in the meeting, seeking, in a reverent frame of mind, for the Divine presence, he soon forgot the ministers and all things around him; for he was favored to find that *within* him which he had so long and with so many tears sought *without* him. He understood but little of what was spoken in the ministry; and having found access to the inner sanctuary where spiritual worship is performed, his thoughts were wholly absorbed with what was passing there.

He and his brother were invited to dine with the English Friends, at a neighbor's, and after dinner there was a religious opportunity, in which several communications were made. Referring to this mem-

orable occasion, he writes in his Journal: "I could hardly understand a word of what was said; but as Deborah Darby began to address my brother and myself, it seemed as if the Lord opened my outward ear, and my heart. Her words partook of the efficacy of that 'Word' which is 'quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.' She seemed like one reading the thoughts of my heart, with clearness describing how it had been, and how it was with me. I was like Lydia; my heart was opened; I felt the power of him who hath the key of David. No strength to withstand the Divine visitation was left me. O what sweetness did I then feel! It was indeed a memorable day. I was like one introduced into a new world; the creation, and all things around me, bore a different aspect; my heart glowed with love to all."

He now felt it his duty to unite with Friends in their religious worship, and became a regular attender of the meeting at Newtown.

Near the close of the year 1795, he became a resident of Philadelphia, where he was employed in teaching French.

In the First month, 1796, he yielded to what he believed to be a divine requisition, and spoke in a meeting for worship. He had not then made application to be admitted into membership with Friends, but the summer following he applied and was received at the Monthly Meeting for the Northern District. In the spring of 1798, his ministry was recognized by the Meeting, and soon after he went on a religious mission to the sea-coast of New Jersey.

While thus engaged, he heard that the yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia to an alarming extent, and he felt impelled by a sense of duty to return thither, in order to minister to the wants of the sick and dying. He engaged most assiduously in this perilous service, and was himself smitten with the disease, which brought him near the gates of death. While expecting his release, and feeling the joys of Heaven at hand, a secret but powerful language proclaimed on this wise: "Thou shalt not die, but live; thy work is not yet done!" There was opened to him a view of foreign lands, where he would be called to labor in the gospel of Christ. In a religious opportunity, soon after his recovery, Arthur Howell, a highly gifted minister, mentioned him by name, and said, "that the Lord had raised him up, having a service for him to the isles and nations afar off, to the east and west, the north and south."

In the year 1807 he embarked for Marseilles, in order to visit the South of France. He went to Congenies, and had satisfactory religious service among the Friends in that vicinity. There being many Protestants in that part of France, they gladly attended his meetings; and even among the Catholics he found many opportunities for religious service.

His visit to his widowed mother was deeply interesting. She had mourned over him as a heretic, in danger of being lost forever, and had even paid money to the priests, to say masses on his behalf. He gave her a copy of the Scriptures, which she searched diligently, until she became satisfied that those things were true of which he testified. He also visited a married sister, and had some satisfactory religious meetings in her family and neighbor-

hood. After an absence of nine months, he returned to his family, with the reward of peace.

In 1811 he entered upon his second visit to Europe, which occupied him till near the close of the year 1814. During this religious embassy he travelled extensively in Great Britain and Ireland, and thence proceeding to the Continent, he visited France, Switzerland, and Germany. His ministrations were directed to both Protestants and Catholics, and to all classes of society, from crowned heads to the lowest of the people. On the Continent his way was remarkably opened to visit the palaces of the great, and in England he and William Allen had satisfactory interviews with the king of Prussia, and Alexander, emperor of Russia, then on a visit to the British court.

In the year 1818 he embarked on his third voyage to Europe. Being joined in England by his friend William Allen, they proceeded to Norway, and visited those who had recently been convinced of Friends' principles.

At St. Petersburg they visited the prisons and charitable institutions, and held meetings for divine worship among the rich and the poor. Their interviews with the emperor Alexander were very interesting and encouraging. He adopted the reformatory measures they suggested, and treated them as his friends.

They went to Moscow, and proceeding thence to the Crimea, they visited on the way several settlements of the Malakans, who have adopted the name of Spiritual Christians. They appeared to be worthy of the appellation they had chosen. In their mode of worship, their free gospel ministry, and their Christian testimonies, they are very similar to the Society

of Friends. They estimate their total number at about one hundred thousand.

After visiting Sebastopol, Odessa, and other places in the Crimea, they proceeded to Constantinople, where they found among the Greeks and Armenians some opportunities for religious service.

Passing then to Smyrna, they proceeded to Scio, touched at some of the islands of the Archipelago, and visited Athens, Corinth, Patros, Zante, and Corfu, everywhere seeking, and often finding opportunities to preach the gospel, and distribute the Scriptures.

At Corfu, these devoted fellow-laborers took an affectionate leave of each other; William Allen, who had been dangerously ill, returned to England, and Stephen Grellet proceeded on his mission to Naples and Rome.

Having letters of recommendation to men in authority, his way was opened to visit the prisons and charitable institutions in those cities.

At Rome he met with unexpected favor, and was even permitted to visit the secret chambers and gloomy cells of the Inquisition. It was not then in operation, but there was abundant evidence of its iniquitous proceedings in former times. He was invited to visit the Pope, to whom he spoke plainly of the abuses he had witnessed, and the flagrant immorality of the priests. His statements being courteously received, he found his way open to address some words of religious counsel to the Pontiff, and was heard without offence. He was well satisfied with the interview, and having preached the gospel in Rome, he left the city with a thankful heart.

Continuing his travels and religious labors, he visited Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Switzerland, the South of

France, Great Britain and Ireland, and embarking at Liverpool, arrived at New York in the Eighth month, 1820. Throughout this extensive and laborious tour his way was opened in a wonderful manner for religious service among all classes, from the palaces of kings to the hovels of the poor, and he preached the "unsearchable riches of Christ" in the most benighted regions, where superstition and bigotry had long conspired to shut out the light of the gospel.

During several years after his return from Europe, he was frequently engaged in religious visits to the meetings of Friends throughout the United States and Canada. It was at the time of that exciting controversy among Friends which preceded the separation. The doctrines held by S. Grellet were those usually called Orthodox, a term that has been applied to Trinitarian dogmas ever since the Council of Nice. His education among Roman Catholics had, doubtless, imbued his mind with Trinitarian ideas, which were no bar to his admission into membership with Friends, for no formal creed had ever been adopted by the Society. A very large number of exemplary Friends dissented from some of his views, but believing them non-essential, they were willing he should enjoy them; and perhaps he was thereby not the less fitted for the field of labor to which he was called in foreign lands. On the contrary, he regarded those doctrines, called Orthodox, as essential to salvation, and was deeply distressed in thinking that some of the Friends whom he loved were on the road to eternal ruin.

It is the natural tendency of this state of mind to magnify the supposed errors it contemplates with so much alarm, and from this cause have arisen the

false assumptions and uncharitable conclusions, that have marred the beauty of some eminent characters, otherwise spotless, inducing them to lay waste the reputation of men no less pure than themselves.

It is painful to read in the life of Stephen Grellet, otherwise so interesting and instructive, his frequent references to the supposed existence of infidelity in some of the meetings of Friends, and to find charges of "anti-Christian errors" reiterated from time to time in relation to Elias Hicks. This much-abused minister of Christ, as we shall prove in the sequel, uniformly asserted his belief in the Scriptural testimony concerning the Divinity and mission of Jesus Christ, and gave assurance of his sincerity by a holy life.[1]

He undoubtedly did not agree with Stephen Grellet and Joseph John Gurney in some of their doctrines, but to call him an infidel betrays a total misapprehension of his character, or a false estimate of what constitutes real Christianity.

The labors of Stephen Grellet subsequent to the year 1828, do not come within the scope of this work. He continued indefatigable in the prosecution of what he believed to be his duty as a minister of the gospel, and in the year 1831 entered upon his fourth visit to Europe, which occupied him three years.

When no longer able to travel abroad, he was assiduous in attending his meeting in Burlington, New Jersey; where he passed, in serenity and peace, the evening of his day, honored and beloved by his fellow-citizens. He closed his useful and laborious life the 16th of the Eleventh month, 1855, a few days after his eighty-second birthday, and doubtless has become a "partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light."

[1] See Examination of the Causes that led to the Separation.

CHAPTER VII.

LABORS OF FRIENDS IN PROMOTING INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

1791–1828.

AMONG the various benevolent concerns that have engaged the attention of the Society of Friends in America, none have taken a deeper hold on their feelings than the civilization and religious instruction of the Indians. The confidence inspired in the breasts of the untutored natives by the fair dealing and uniform kindness of the Friends who settled New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which was also continued by their successors in each succeeding generation, gave the members of the Society a place in their affections far transcending that which they felt for any other people, and opened the way for a cordial reception of their counsel.

In the year 1791, Cornplanter, a noted Seneca chief, addressed "to the children of the Friends of Onas" a pathetic letter, requesting their aid in the education of his people, and desiring that two Seneca boys, one of them his own son, together with the son of their interpreter, might be taken under the care of Friends, and taught in the same manner as their own children. A reply was sent by direction of the Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, accepting the proposition, and agreeing to teach them "in reading, writing, and husbandry, as the children of our Friends are taught."

In the year 1792, while an Indian war was raging on the frontier, the Society of Friends in Pennsyl-

vania presented a respectful memorial to the President and Congress, recommending the adoption of such pacific and just measures towards the natives as might restore peace and harmony.

In the Second month of the following year, information was received that a treaty was likely to be held at Sandusky, and that the Indians were desirous that some of the Friends should attend it. They sent at the same time, addressed "to the children of Onas," three strings of white wampum as a token of their continued friendship.

Several Friends, feeling their minds religiously engaged to visit the Indian country at that time, and having obtained the approbation of their respective Monthly meetings, were made the bearers of an Epistle to the Indians from the Meeting for Sufferings or Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Having the consent of President Washington, the following-named Friends proceeded to the place where the treaty was to be held, viz.: William Savery, John Parrish, John Elliott, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore, and William Hartshorne. The journey, which occupied four months, as related in the Diary of William Savery, was attended with great fatigue and exposure, much of the country through which they passed being then a wilderness.

The attempt to negotiate a treaty was not successful, but the Friends had much amicable intercourse with the Indians, and a favorable opportunity was afforded to hold religious meetings with the frontier settlers, some of whom were members of the Society of Friends.

In the summer of 1794, the Meeting of Sufferings in Philadelphia was informed that a treaty was shortly

to be held at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, between commissioners of the United States and the chiefs of the Six Nations, and that the Indians were particularly desirous Friends should attend it,—the Government also encouraging them to be present. Under an apprehension that it was their religious duty to attend, David Bacon, John Parrish, William Savery, and James Emlen offered themselves for the service, and being approved by the Meeting, they were deputed to deliver to the Six Nations a number of articles as presents, together with an affectionate address exhorting them to seek for an amicable adjustment of their differences with the Government.

It appears from the Diary of William Savery, that they were occupied about ten weeks in this embassy, seven of which they spent among the Indians with Colonel Pickering, the United States Commissioner, endeavoring to obtain an amicable settlement by treaty of all the points in controversy. The Indians, as usual in such cases, were remarkably deliberate and even dilatory in their movements, insomuch that the patience of the Friends was sorely tried with frequent delays; but at length a treaty was effected, and they had the satisfaction of knowing that their presence and labors had not been in vain.

In one of their speeches, the Indians addressed the Friends in a very affectionate manner; asking their advice, they said: "We who are now here are but children; the ancients being deceased. We know that your fathers and ours transacted business together, and that you look up to the Great Spirit for his direction and assistance and take no part in war. We expect you were all born on this island, and consider you as brethren." * * * * "We are all now in *the presence* of the Great Spirit, and we place more

confidence in you than in any other people. As you expressed your desire for peace, we now desire your help and assistance; we hope you will not deceive us, for if you should do so, we shall no more place any confidence in mankind."

William Savery and his companions held many religious meetings in the Indian country; one of them, held at the Oneida camp, he thus describes: "We found some collected in the woods where many trees were felled, which served as seats, and one of the chiefs went round the camp, vociferating a certain sound used as a signal for them to assemble, which they did in large numbers. The curiosity of the white people being raised, and some coming from other motives, we had a large and good meeting, which held till near sunset; both whites and Indians were quiet and behaved decently. As many of the Indians had received some notion of the Christian religion from missionaries, and were desirous to begin the service with singing of hymns or psalms, and we not thinking it would be best to object to their wishes, they appeared very devout, and I thought that the melody and softness of their voices in the Indian language, and the sweetness and harmony that attended, exceeded by far anything of the kind I had ever heard among the white people. Being in the midst of the woods, the satisfaction of hearing these poor untutored people sing, with every appearance of devotion, their Maker's praise, and the serious attention they paid to what was delivered to them, conspired to make it a solemn meeting, long to be remembered by me."

In the year 1794, the hostilities which had existed between many of the Indian tribes and the Federal Government were terminated by the treaty of Gren-

ville. General Wayne, who had commanded in the latter part of the war, acted as commissioner for the Government. By this treaty the tribes northwest of the Ohio River relinquished the lands so long the object of contention, and accepting a reservation in the neighborhood of the lakes, came under the protection of the United States.

This result opened the way for the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore to take more decided measures for the improvement of the Indians.

In order to ascertain the disposition of the various tribes, a committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting forwarded to the Indians circular letters explanatory of the concern which Friends entertained for their welfare and improvement, accompanied with one from the Secretary of State expressive of the approbation of the President. It appeared that the only tribes who, at that time, were willing to be instructed in husbandry and the mechanic arts, were the Oneidas, and those Indians settled on the Oneida reservation, comprehending the Stockbridge and a part of the Tuscaroras.

In the summer of 1796, three Friends, approved by the committee, settled among the Oneidas. Some members of the committee accompanied them on a visit to the Indians in order to encourage them to cultivate their lands. It was soon found that the natives were not only unaccustomed but averse to labor. Without much assistance from them, the Friends proceeded to cultivate a piece of land, hoping that some would be induced to follow their example; they also repaired and worked a saw-mill belonging to the Oneidas, and several of the Indians acquired a competent knowledge of that business.

They opened a school for the children, which was kept during the winter. During the first two years the progress of the Indians was not very encouraging, but in 1799, several of them improved lots for their own benefit which they sowed with wheat, and some of them, under the instruction of the Friends, learned the blacksmith business; they also kept in operation a grist-mill, which had been erected for them.

The improvements thus made, and the various tools and farming implements distributed among the Indians, had cost a large sum of money, but they had so seldom seen any disinterested efforts made for their benefit by white men, that some of them began to suspect the Friends had sinister motives in view, and would lay claim to part of their land. In order to show them that the only object Friends had in view was their good, it was determined to withdraw from them for a time, leaving all the tools and implements in their possession. This conclusion was further recommended by the consideration that the progress they had already made in civilization, was such as to enable them to procure a subsistence from the cultivation of the soil. Accordingly, after a friendly conference between four of the committee and the Indians, the Friends took their leave near the close of the year 1799.

In the meantime, the Seneca nation, observing the advantages derived by the Oneidas from the labors of the Friends, expressed a desire to be similarly instructed; accordingly, three Friends offered their services to go among them for this purpose; and in the spring of 1798, accompanied by a part of the committee, they proceeded to the Indian towns on the Alleghany River. The Indians gave them a warm reception, and *expressed their* thankfulness to the

Great Spirit for their safe arrival. In a speech made by Cornplanter, their chief, he said: "Brothers, we can't say a word against you. It is the best way to call Quakers brothers. You never wished any part of our lands, therefore we are determined to try to learn your ways; and these young men may stay here two years to try; and then if they like it and we like it, your young men may stay longer."

The Friends selected for the place of their residence an ancient village called Genesaugohta, where a few Indian families lived, and thither they transported the farming implements, and mason's, carpenter's, and cooper's tools, provided for the settlement. Before the committee took their departure, they had a conference with the Indians, and told them it was not right to suffer their women to work all day in the fields and woods, hoeing their corn, or bringing home firewood on their backs, while the men and boys were amusing themselves with shooting arrows from their bows, or engaged in other diversions. They were recommended to take their boys with them and work in the fields, and were reminded that they, no less than the white people, were tenderly cared for by the Great Spirit, to whom we are indebted for every blessing.

In the autumn of 1801, four of the committee visited the settlement, accompanied by a young Friend, a blacksmith, who intended to stay and instruct the Indians in his business. They found encouraging evidences of progress. The Indians had done much fencing, had cultivated more corn and gathered more hay than ever before, and many of them lived in good log houses with shingled roofs, being a great improvement on their former condition.

In the year 1805, the Friends engaged in the in-

struction of the Indians in western New York wrote as follows: "It is pleasing to find a disposition for improvement continues to prevail amongst the younger class of Indians. Divers have now a considerable quantity of corn to sell; they often express the satisfaction they feel in seeing the fruits of their own industry, and frequently observe that when they followed drinking whiskey they could hardly clothe themselves, but by industry they now find their substance begins to increase. The continued resolution of these Indians against the use of spirituous liquors conduces much to the introduction and increase of civilized habits, and it is obvious that it has an improving effect on the other settlements of the Seneca nation. They often come to see us, and appear well satisfied."

In the year 1795, the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends entered upon the work of promoting the religious welfare and civilization of the Indians residing in that State. A committee of Friends visited most of their settlements, inquired into their condition, and gave them substantial aid, as well as suitable counsel. They reported to the next Yearly Meeting, and the subject having claimed its deliberate consideration, a committee was appointed for the purpose of extending aid and instruction to the Indians. From this time forward the Yearly Meeting gave close and persevering attention to the Indian tribes within its limits. The committee paid them frequent visits, and their reports gave satisfactory evidence of progressive improvement.

The movements of Friends in this interesting concern appear to have been nearly simultaneous in three of the Yearly meetings. In the Tenth month, 1795, the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore took up the

subject, and recommended to the Quarterly and Monthly meetings to open subscriptions among their members for the relief of the Indians, the promotion of their school education, and the introduction of husbandry and the mechanic arts among them. A committee was also appointed to carry into effect the benevolent intentions of the body. In the following spring the committee, after corresponding with the Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, determined to send a deputation to "visit the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, and other nations northwest of the Ohio, or to such parts of them as they shall find freedom; approbation of the government being first obtained." The Friends appointed on this mission were John Brown, Jonathan Wright, Israel Janney, Moses Dillon, and Joseph Bond. They proceeded to the Indian country, but found the chiefs, the hunters and warriors of the tribes with whom they desired to confer, much dispersed over the country, engaged in their various pursuits, and consequently were unable to hold any communication with them collectively. The Yearly Meeting, in 1796, added to their Committee on Indian Concerns, the names of Reese Cadwallader, Thomas Farquhar, Joel Wright, James Mendenhall, George Ellicott, and James M'Grew. In the following year, Joel Wright, Reese Cadwallader, and David Greaves proceeded to the Indian country and visited a number of their hunting-camps and several of their towns. They found the Indians had a very scanty supply of food and clothing, and having ceded to the United States a large portion of their hunting-grounds, the committee were impressed with the belief that the territory left to the Wyandots, Shawnees, and Delawares would not be sufficient for their subsistence,

unless they could be induced to change their mode of living and resort to agriculture.

In the year 1799, Evan Thomas, Joel Wright, Reese Cadwallader, and George Ellicott, being a delegation from the Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, visited the Indian country. They travelled on horseback, and with pack-horses to carry a tent, provisions for the journey which would be necessary after leaving the settlements of Friends in Ohio, and useful presents for the Indians. After travelling about a month, they arrived at Upper Sandusky, the principal village of the Wyandots, where they met with a friendly reception from Tarhie, (the Crane,) the head chief, and others of the nation. Their message was kindly received and an answer delivered on four strings of wampum, expressive of their gratitude for the care and friendship of the Quakers.

At an interview held in Baltimore, near the close of the year 1801, between a committee of Friends and a number of Indian chiefs from the territory northwest of the Ohio, Little Turtle, a Miami chief who possessed great influence among them, delivered an impressive address, in which he touchingly described the baneful effects of spirituous liquors upon the Indians, and besought the Friends to use their influence with the Federal Government to prevent the traders from bringing into their country that destructive beverage. In accordance with his request, the Committee on Indian Concerns of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, addressed a memorial to Congress, stating the desire they felt to introduce among the Indians northwest of the river Ohio the most simple and useful arts of civil life, and that the result of their inquiries was, "That the quantity of spiritu-

ous liquors with which the Indians are supplied by traders and frontier settlers, must counteract the effect of every measure, however wise and salutary, which can be devised to improve their situation.

"They waited on Congress with their memorial, and were gratified with the passage of a law authorizing the President "to take such measures as to him may seem expedient to prevent or restrain the vending or distributing of spirituous liquors among all or any of the Indian tribes." The same law authorized the Executive to furnish the Indian tribes with useful domestic animals and implements of agriculture, and to appoint agents to dwell among them. These salutary measures had a most happy effect wherever the intentions of the Government were carried into practice by its agents.

In 1803, the Committee on Indian Concerns reported to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, that in consequence of information received from the Western Indians and the prohibition, by the President of the United States, of the sale of spirituous liquors amongst them, "the committee had been impressed with the belief that the time for an earnest commencement of the benevolent intention of the Yearly Meeting had arrived; they had accordingly purchased for the use of these Indians agricultural implements of various kinds, which were to be forwarded to Fort Wayne for their use."

In the Second month, 1804, the committee appointed four of their number a deputation to visit the Indians northwest of the Ohio, and authorized them to "take one or more suitable persons with them to reside among the Indians to instruct them in agriculture and other useful knowledge." They accordingly accepted the services of Philip Dennis, a

respectable member of the Society of Friends, who agreed to accompany them and remain for that purpose. Two of the Friends appointed, namely, Gerard T. Hopkins and George Ellicott, proceeded to Fort Wayne, in the Third month, and soon after met several of the principal chiefs, who agreed to convene, in eight days from that time, as many of the chiefs and warriors as could be notified. At the time appointed, a considerable number of their principal men were in attendance, together with many of their women.

The Friends explained to them the object of their mission, and pointed out the benefits that would accrue to them by adopting the habits of civilized life. The Indians listened with great gravity to the excellent counsel given to them, and signified their assent by repeated shouts. After a pause, the Miami chief, Little Turtle, rose, and delivered an appropriate reply, rejoicing that the Great Spirit had brought them together, assenting to the truths they had heard, and promising that they would endeavor to make the situation of Philip Dennis as agreeable as possible, while he remained among them. The place they selected for his residence and agricultural experiments, was a fertile spot on the Wabash River, about forty miles southwest of Fort Wayne. His assiduous labors were very serviceable to the Indians, some of them were induced to follow his example, and the result was a large increase in the supply of food and other comforts of life.[1]

In 1805, the committee reported, that, "on com-

[1] "A Mission to the Indians from the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, in 1804." Edited by Martha E. Tyson. Published by T. E. Zell, Philadelphia, 1862.

paring the condition of these Indian tribes at the time our last deputation visited them, with their present situation, we are of opinion that there is great cause of encouragement for Friends to persevere in the benevolent work they have undertaken." After alluding to the gradual decrease of the Aborigines, the report thus continues: "Impressed with this melancholy consideration, it must be a prospect truly gladdening to the enlightened Christian mind, to survey the hastening of that day, when this part of the human-family, weaned from savage habits, and allured by the superior advantages of civil life, shall exchange the tomahawk and scalping-knife for the plough and the hoe; and instead of ranging the forrests in seeming affinity to the wild beasts of the desert, shall peacefully and rationally enjoy the productions of the fruitful field! Nor is this all. Added to the cultivation of the earth, the first step in the view of the committee, towards many important temporal advantages, to be derived to this people from civil life, may not the promotion of this concern, which has thus far evidently prospered, prepare for, and prove the means, under the Divine blessing, through which may finally spread and prevail amongst these our fellow-men, that light and knowledge which so eminently distinguish the true Christian?"

The labors of Friends in America on behalf of the Indians, being reported to London Yearly Meeting in the year 1806, much sympathy was expressed, and directions were sent down to the subordinate meetings, to encourage a liberal subscription among their members to aid in the good work.

The amount subscribed amounted to £7,092 18*s.* 6*d.*, which being remitted to Philadelphia, produced,

in Pennsylvania currency, £11,770 16*s.* 8*d.* Of the amount thus raised, the sum of £2,250 was transmitted to Friends of New York, £4,760 8*s.* 4*d.* to Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and the remaining sum of £4,760 8*s.* 4*d.* retained by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

These funds, together with those subscribed by Friends in America, have been the means of promoting the comfort and civilization of the Indians to a very considerable extent.

After the agency on the Wabash had been some years in operation, the committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting turned their attention towards the Shawnese tribe of Indians, some of whom at that time resided on the Sciota River, and whose hunting-grounds lay between the Ohio River and Lake Erie.

In the year 1812, the committee reported that "a grist and saw mill had been erected in their country, and implements of husbandry furnished them," and that the Indians manifested a disposition to become industrious, having put a considerable extent of land in cultivation. A short time prior to this date, the Friends had extended some assistance to the Delaware Indians residing near the Muskingum River, and a considerable improvement was witnessed among them.

In the year 1818, the grist and saw mill erected for the Shawnese, near their village, called Waupaghkonnetta, were in successful operation, and the affairs of the Indians were prospering under the superintendence of four men and three women Friends residing there. About the same date the committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends began to turn its attention to the subject of educating the In-

dian children; but some years elapsed before the necessary arrangements were completed for boarding and clothing, as well as instructing the pupils. A purchase was at length made of a tract of land about five miles from the village of Waupaghkonnetta, where a school-house and dwelling for the superintendent and family were erected. The school was opened in the year 1822, and gave great satisfaction to the Indians.

In a conference held with them, one of their principal chiefs said: "We consider the Society of Friends as our real friends. We know their manner of worshipping the Great Spirit is to us more agreeable than any other people; we are also very well pleased that our children are to be educated by our real friends."

On the establishment, in the year 1813, of Ohio Yearly Meeting, which had originally formed part of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, these two bodies co-operated in extending aid to the Indians, each having a standing committee for that purpose, and the fund remaining on hand was divided between them.[1] Indiana Yearly Meeting being afterwards established, it entered into the work of Indian civilization, and through its committee co-operated with Friends of Baltimore and Ohio Yearly Meetings.

In the year 1823, it appeared, by a report from the committee on Indian Concerns of Ohio Yearly Meeting, that the school was in successful operation, and the Indians improving in their agricultural pursuits.

The good work, so happily begun, received, about the year 1826, a severe check by a prevailing disposition among the Indians to remove west of the

[1] Mission to the Indians, Martha E. Tyson, p. 184.

Mississippi. The school was, at their request, discontinued for a time; but, after the removal of a considerable number had taken place, it was resumed.

In 1827, information was received from Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting, that the school at Waupaghkonnetta was going on with better prospects of success than at any former period. The Indians were also advancing in civilization, being mostly settled on farms, and many of them raising grain and stock sufficient for their own consumption.

Although the labors of the Friends were attended with encouraging success, and highly valued by the Indians who remained on the reservation, yet the settled policy of the government to remove them westward, and the disturbing influence of the white population who coveted their lands, at length prevailed. The final treaty for their removal beyond the Mississippi was concluded in the year 1831.

This change in their location greatly increased the difficulties attending their civilization and religious instruction; but they were not abandoned by their long-tried friends, — the labor of love bestowed upon them was renewed in the wilderness to which they removed, and the chain of friendship yet remains bright between the North American Indians and those whom they still regard as "the children of Onas."



THE SEPARATION.



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AN EXAMINATION OF THE CAUSES

WHICH LED TO THE

PARATION OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA

IN 1827–28.

INTRODUCTION.

HE separation that took place in the Society of nds in America, during the years 1827 and '28, an event of deep and painful interest to its nbers, and is still regarded by many, both with- nd without its pale, as a subject of unceasing et. It was accompanied by alienation of feeling ng many who had long been knit together in closest ties of friendship, and it diminished the tary influence that the Society had always ex- d, from the first settlement of the country, in promotion of every work that tended to the lic good.

he separation was preceded by an exciting con- ersy, in which the doctrines and discipline of Society were discussed; both parties claiming old the tenets and to act upon the principles of early Friends. It becomes necessary, therefore,

in tracing the causes that led to this event, to give a concise statement of the doctrines of the Society in the time of George Fox, together with the system of church government he introduced, and to inquire what changes have since taken place.

The difficulty and delicacy of this task may, in some measure, be appreciated, by bearing in mind that the Society has never adopted a formal creed; and that, with the exception of a few points embraced in the advices of its Yearly meetings, its doctrines must be sought for in the voluminous writings of its members, which, not being always clear, require to be collated with each other.

It cannot be supposed that the members of a society gathered from various religious sects, and educated under such diverse influences, would all agree in every point of doctrine.

Accordingly, we find in their writings some shades of difference, — they did not all "see eye to eye," neither was such uniformity of sentiment considered essential to religious union; for being united in Christ through the bond of the Spirit, all minor differences were deemed unimportant, or regarded only as incentives to Christian charity. On several occasions, declarations relating to their doctrinal views were published by prominent members of the Society, in order to refute the accusations of their adversaries. These were generally couched in Scripture language, in accordance with the "frequent advice of Geo. Fox to Friends, to keep to Scripture language, terms, words, and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, con-

troversy, and conversation, and not to be imposed upon and drawn into unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom."[1]

From these declarations, quotations will be found in this treatise, but the question still recurs, in what sense did the authors understand those scriptural phrases? Did they accept them as generally understood by theologians? Or were they led by their own religious experience and the illumination of divine grace, to go deeper, and to find those "mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," which are hidden from the wise and prudent, but revealed unto babes.

We know that human language, although admirable in itself, is but an imperfect medium for the conveyance of thought. Words are signs or symbols of ideas, which being held up before us in speech or writing, call up in our minds the images or ideas we have previously acquired by education, experience, or reflection. But the education and experience of mankind are exceedingly diverse, and hence it may happen that some words or phrases will not convey to different individuals precisely the same ideas. This will be found to apply more especially to certain phrases in the sacred writings, which in the lapse of centuries, and through the teaching of theologians, have acquired conventional meanings that, there is reason to believe, were not intended by the writer. It is obvious, therefore, that, although a confession of faith constructed of Scriptural phrases must necessarily be accepted by all who believe the Scriptures, yet it may not convey

[1] Works of G. F., IV. 3. Epistle of G. Whitehead and others.

to all persons the same meaning, because all have not received the same mental training.

There are, in the writings of the early Friends, many passages that explain the sense in which they understood the Scripture texts they employed, and they often avowed very unpopular doctrines, for in many points, both of doctrine and practice, they were far in advance of the age in which they lived.

It is well known that at the rise of the Society, and for a long time afterwards, they were violently assailed from the pulpit and the press, and charged with denying some of the doctrines deemed fundamental by the Orthodox churches. William Penn, George Whitehead, and other Friends, were engaged in public disputes with Dissenting ministers, among whom were Vincent, Ives, Hicks, and Baxter. The Friends were doubtless calumniated and charged with false doctrines which they did not hold; but there can be no question that in many particulars they differed from most other Dissenters, as well as from the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics.

In order to show precisely where they stood, and what they believed, it is deemed appropriate to compare the doctrines of Friends with the popular theology of that day, first showing wherein they differed from others, and then demonstrating from their writings and from the Scriptures, that they held the doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles. This course is deemed the more necessary, inasmuch as attempts have been made, by some claiming to be their successors, to show that they did not differ in essentials from the Trinitarian churches, and copious

extracts from Friends' writings have been published, which being entirely one-sided, are calculated to mislead the public. It may be said of their writings, as of all other voluminous works, that passages may be selected which, separated from the context, do not express the author's meaning. It is the duty and pleasure of a candid inquirer to collate such passages as appear to be ambiguous, with others that are more clear, and thus by patient and impartial investigation endeavor to arrive at the truth.

While instituting a comparison between the doctrines held by Protestants generally, and those maintained by the early Friends, it will be observed that only those doctrines which have been subjects of controversy among Friends in America are considered as being within the scope of this inquiry.

CHAPTER I.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON IMMEDIATE REVELATION.

§ 1. THE indwelling presence of the Divine Word, or Spirit of Christ, in the souls of men, is the fundamental principle of the Society of Friends. "The principle of the Quakers," wrote George Fox to the king, "is the Spirit of Christ, who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his. He dwelleth in us by his Spirit, and by the Spirit of Christ we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness."[1]

§ 2. "Now observe," says Pennington, in his treatise addressed to the Royal Society, "the difference between the religion that God hath taught us, and led us into, and the religions of all men upon the earth besides. Our religion stands wholly *out* of that, which all their religion stands *in*. Their religion stands in the comprehension, in a belief of a literal relation or description. Our religion stands *in a principle which changeth the mind*, wherein the spirit of life appeareth to, and witnesseth in the conscience to and concerning the things of the kingdom; where we hear the voice, and see the express image of the invisible one, and know things not from an outward relation, but from their inward

[1] Works of G. F., Vol. II. p. 163.

nature, virtue and power. Yea, here, we must profess, we so know things that we are fully satisfied about them, and could not doubt concerning them, though there never had been word or letter written of them; though indeed it is also a great comfort and sweet refreshment to us, to read that testified of outwardly, which, through the tender mercy of our God, we enjoy inwardly. And *in this our whole religion consists;* to wit, in the silence and death of the flesh, and in the quickening and flowing life of the spirit. For he who is of the new birth, of the new creation, of the second Adam, (the Lord from heaven,) is as really alive to God, and as really lives to him in his spirit, as ever he was really dead in trespasses and sins, in the time of his alienation and estrangement from God."[1]

This passage was published in 1668, a few years subsequent to the restoration of the Stuarts; when religion in England was at a low ebb, the established Church resting in a state of lifeless formality, and the Puritan sects, in their practice, having sunk far below their profession. There were, doubtless, throughout Europe, both among the Catholics and Protestants, many devout souls who had seen beyond the rituals of their church, and attained to that "life which is hid with Christ in God;" nevertheless the language of Pennington was applicable to Christian professors in general; their religion "stood in the comprehension,"—in an effort of the mind to understand Scriptural truth, without having it

[1] Works of I. P., II. 59.

verified in their own experience, through the teaching of the Holy Spirit.

§ 3. Robert Barclay states the doctrine of immediate revelation in this proposition. "Seeing no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him; *Matt.* xi. 27. And seeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit, therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be only revealed." "It is very probable," he says, "that many carnal and natural Christians will oppose this proposition, who being wholly unacquainted with the movings and actings of God's spirit upon their hearts, judge the same nothing necessary; and some are apt to flout at it as ridiculous. Yea, to that height are the generality of Christians apostatized and degenerated, that, though there be not anything more plainly asserted, more seriously recommended, nor more certainly attested to in all the writings of the Holy Scriptures, yet nothing is less minded and more rejected by all sorts of Christians, than immediate and divine revelation; insomuch that once to lay claim to it, is a matter of reproach. Whereas of old none were ever judged Christians, but such as had the Spirit of Christ; *Rom.* viii. 9. But now many do boldly call themselves Christians, who make no difficulty of confessing, they are without it; and laugh at such as say they have it. Of old they were accounted the sons of God, who were led by the Spirit of God; *ibid.*, verse 14; but now, many aver themselves sons of God, who know nothing

this leader: and he that affirms himself so led, is y the pretended orthodox of this age, presently roclaimed a heretic.

"For the better understanding of this proposition, e do distinguish betwixt the *certain* knowledge of od, and the uncertain; betwixt the *spiritual* knowlge, and the literal; the saving heart-knowledge, id soaring airy head-knowledge. The last we conss may be divers ways obtained; but the first by) other way than the inward immediate manifestaon and revelation of God's Spirit, shining in and)on the heart, enlightening and opening the underanding."[1]

§ 4. In confirmation of this doctrine, Barclay iotes from the works of Augustine, Clemens Alexidrinus, and others of the early Christian writers, id also from Luther and Melancthon, showing that e saving knowledge of God can only be derived)m the teachings of his own spirit. He might ive quoted similar doctrines from the early rermers in England,—the fathers of the Anglican hurch,—as well as from Baxter, Bunyan and others en living, who were the opposers of Friends.

The difference between the Friends and most hers, in relation to this doctrine, may be briefly ated as follows:

§ 5. In the Church of England, the doctrine of the oly Spirit's influence on the heart was recognized i her Liturgy and taught in her Homilies; but in ie ministrations of her priesthood it was little

[1] Barclay's Apology, Prop. 2, § 1.

regarded, if not wholly ignored; while among the Puritan ministers, who were generally Calvinists, the gifts of the Spirit were supposed to be confined to the *elect*, for whom alone, they asserted, Christ died. It was generally taught by both classes, that immediate revelation had ceased, and that the Holy Spirit as an enlightener and sanctifier was only witnessed through the use of the means of grace, such as reading the Scriptures, partaking of the ordinances, and attending on the services of religion. One of the opponents of Friends, a vicar in the established church, wrote as follows: "God has committed his will now wholly to writing, so that former ways of God's revealing his will, as by immediate revelation, are now ceased, and the Scripture is a fixed canon or rule, — and our sole and entire rule of faith and manners, in all that is necessary to our salvation."[1]

§ 6. In the Society of Friends, "the Universal and Saving Light of Christ" was held forth continually as their fundamental principle, — the cornerstone of their religion. Not only to those who have the Scriptures, or the historical knowledge of Christ's advent, does his spirit come; but even to the heathen who are sitting in darkness, his light appears. He comes as the Spirit of Truth, "to convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." To the wicked, he appears as a reprover for sin, "a spirit of judgment, and a spirit of burning;" but to the humble, obedient soul, as a comforter in righteousness.

[1] Patrick Smith, quoted in Besse's Defence of Quakerism, p. 36.

§ 7. In the brief account we have, in Genesis, of the primogenitors of our race, it appears that not only while they were in a state of innocence did the Lord hold converse with them, but after their transgression they heard his voice, saying, "Adam, where art thou?" With Cain also he conversed, both before and after the murder of his brother: in the first instance, showing him that his acceptance depended upon well-doing; in the second condemning him for the crime he had committed. In these cases the Eternal Word or Spirit of Christ spoke immediately to the human soul,—no outward instrument was employed; and such is still the ordinary process by which the divine will is made known to man,—it is therefore called immediate revelation. It is true, that in the ordering of Divine Providence, instrumental means are often employed, such as the Scriptures of truth, the preaching of the gospel, and the vicissitudes of life; but in all cases, the good effected is from the immediate operation of divine grace upon the heart or conscience.

In fact, there can be no saving knowledge of Christ, but from immediate revelation. "No man can come to me," said Jesus, "except the Father which hath sent me draw him."[1] This drawing of the Father is the operation of his spirit, for "the manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal."[2] As the power and virtue of the outward sun can only be known through his light, and as no description of light can give an idea of it without the sense of vision, so the Author of all

[1] John vi. 44. [2] 1 Cor. xii. 7.

Good—the sun of the spiritual world—can only be known through the influence of his light, or spirit, immediately revealed to our spiritual perception.

§ 8. In the writings of Friends there is a clear distinction observed between the Divine light which is the medium, and the conscience which is the organ, of spiritual perception. This faculty of the soul may be clouded by prejudice, benumbed by disobedience, and "even seared as with a hot iron," by long-continued transgression; but the light itself, though obscured, or lost to our vision, remains ever the same, for the Divine nature is unchangeable. "If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil [or diseased], thy whole body shall be full of darkness."

William Penn, in treating of this subject, adopts the language of Justin Martyr, viz.: "God hath built to himself a natural temple in the consciences of men as the place wherein he would be worshipped; and it is there men ought to look for his appearance and reverence and worship him." He quotes also the following passage from Clemens Alexandrinus: "It is the voice of Truth, that light will shine out of darkness. Therefore doth it shine in the hidden part of mankind, that is, in the heart; and the rays of knowledge break forth making manifest and shining upon the inward man, which is hidden;—Christ's intimates and co-heirs are the disciples of the Light."[1]

Robert Barclay, in his treatise on Universal Love, relates, on the testimony of Francis Xavier, called

[1] Penn's Select Works, p. 245.

by the Catholics the Apostle of the Indies, that the Japanese, whom the Jesuits endeavored to proselyte, made objections to the Catholic doctrines, saying that God seemed not to be merciful and just in condemning to eternal punishment all the Japanese who died before the coming of the missionaries. To remove this objection and gain converts, the Jesuits assured them that all men have the knowledge of the divine laws from nature, and from God the Author of nature, — this law was implanted in man's heart before any human laws were made.

Thus says Barclay, "To satisfy these Japanese, that their forefathers were not all necessarily damned, and to show that the universal love of God reached unto them to put them in a capacity of salvation, this cunning Jesuit could not find any other way than by asserting this principle,"[1] — the Light and Life of God in the soul.

George Fox says in his Journal: "I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus, for to as many as should receive him in his *light*, I saw that he would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ. And I was to direct people to the spirit that gave forth the Scriptures by which they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God as they had been who gave them forth."[2]

Such was the truly liberal doctrine held forth by the first preachers and writers in the Society of

[1] Barclay's Works, p. 701.

[2] G. F's. Journal. London ed. 1694.

Friends, a doctrine that was then assailed on every hand by the pulpit and the press—by Churchmen and Dissenters.

This doctrine, when held in sincerity by enlightened minds, necessarily leads to toleration and religious liberty; for if we believe that those who have not so much as heard of the coming of Christ in the flesh, may nevertheless be saved by obedience to the Light or Spirit of Christ, the conclusion logically follows, that the same divine power will save those professed followers of Christ who obey his spiritual law, although, in our apprehension, they may err in judgment concerning some important points of doctrine.

Accordingly we find that religious liberty was cherished by the early Friends, and consistently carried out in their practice when they attained to power in some of the American colonies.

CHAPTER II.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 1. The first imprisonment of George Fox resulted from his controverting the views generally entertained concerning the Scriptures. In the year 1649, he went into the parish house of worship at Nottingham, where he heard the priest take for his

text these words of Peter: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts." This, he told the people, was the Scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions.

"Now the Lord's power," writes George Fox, "was so mighty upon me and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'Oh! no, it is not the Scriptures;' and told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. For the Jews had the Scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star, and persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment and did not try them aright, because they tried them without the Holy Ghost."

The early Friends avowed their belief in the authenticity and divine authority of the Scriptures, but they declined to give them the usual appellation, — the Word of God, — because this title is, by the sacred writers, appropriated to Christ the Eternal Word, that was in the beginning with God and was God.

§ 2. The views expressed by Barclay in the third proposition of his Apology, were those generally held by the Society, viz:—

"From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures of Truth, which contain: I. A faithful historical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages; with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. II. A prophetical account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come. III. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times and upon sundry occasions written unto some churches and their pastors. Nevertheless because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate, primary rule of faith and manners. Yet because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit from which they have all their excellency and certainty. For as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth; therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader."[1] * * * * "The principal rule of Christians under the gospel is not an outward letter, nor law outwardly written and delivered, but an inward spiritual law ingraven in the heart, the law of the Spirit of life, the word that is nigh in the heart and in the mouth; but the letter

[1] John xvi. 13; Rom. vii. 14.

of the Scripture is outward, of itself a dead thing, a mere declaration of good things but not the things themselves: therefore it nor is, nor can be, the chief or principal rule of Christians."

He says moreover of the Scriptures: "The proposition itself declares how much I esteem them; and provided that to the Spirit (from which they came) be but granted that place the Scriptures themselves give it; I do freely concede to the Scriptures the second place, even whatsoever they say of themselves, which the apostle Paul chiefly mentions in two places. *Rom.* xv. 4: 'Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.' 2 *Tim.* iii. 15, 17: 'The Holy Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' * * * * 'All Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work.'" * * * * * "Moreover because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of time to have slipped in, are not such, but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith, we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversy among Christians, and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony may therefore justly be rejected as false."[1]

[1] Apology, Prop. 3, §§ v. and vi.

CHAPTER III.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN.

§ 1. The doctrine of Original Sin, as generally held, is thus defined by one of its advocates:[1] "Original sin was the rebellion of the first man, Adam, against his Creator, which was a sin of universal efficacy, which derives a guilt and stain to mankind in all ages of the world. The account the Scripture gives of it, is grounded on the relation which all men have to Adam as their natural and moral principal or head." * * * * "As the whole *race of mankind* was virtually in *Adam's loins*, so it was presumed to give virtual consent to what he did; when he broke, all suffered shipwreck that were contained in him as their natural original." * * * * "In *the first treaty* between God and man, Adam was considered not as a single person, but as the representative of a nation and *contracted for all* his descendants by ordinary generation. His person was the fountain of theirs, and his will the representative of theirs. From hence his vast progeny became a *party in the covenant*, and had a title to the benefits contained in it upon his obedience, and was liable to the curse upon his violation of it."[2]

§ 2. Such is the doctrine of original sin, which

[1] Cruden's Concordance. [2] Ibid.

Robert Barclay in his Apology calls an "invented and unscriptural barbarism."[1]

The notion that all men were virtually in Adam and gave their consent to what he did, is an absurdity that must be obvious to the lowest capacity. No sane person will pretend to assert, that a man is morally responsible for the guilty transactions of his father, his grandfather, or any of his ancestors. As to the *first treaty* between man and his Maker, in which Adam *contracted for all his descendants*, it is a fiction which has no foundation in Scripture or reason.

The imputation of sin to infants is denied and disproved by Barclay, in the following language: "The Apostle saith plainly, *Rom.* iv. 15, 'Where no law is there is no transgression.' And again, v. 13, 'But sin is not imputed where there is no law,' than which testimonies there is nothing more positive; since to infants there is no law, seeing as such they are utterly incapable of it; the law cannot reach any but such as have in some measure less or more the exercise of their understanding which infants have not." * * * * "Secondly, What can be more positive than that of *Ezek.* xviii. 20, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die: the son shall not bear the father's iniquity'? For the prophet here first showeth what is the cause of man's eternal death, which he saith is his sinning, and then, as if he proposed expressly to shut out such an opinion, he assures us, 'The son shall not bear the father's iniquity.' From which I thus argue: If the son bear not the iniquity of his

[1] Barclay's Apology, Phila. ed. 1789, p. 108.

father, or of his immediate parents, far less shall h
bear the iniquity of Adam."[1]

§ 3. It must not be inferred, however, that Ba
clay attributed no evil consequences to mankir
from the sin of Adam. "Through him," he say
"there is a seed of sin propagated to all men, whi
in its own nature is sinful and inclines men
iniquity; yet it will not follow from thence, th
infants, who join not with this seed, are guilty
Again he writes: "All Adam's posterity, or ma
kind, both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Ad
or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated and dea
deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inwa
testimony or seed of God, and is subject unto t
power, nature and seed of the serpent which
soweth in men's hearts, while they abide in t
natural and corrupted state: from whence it con
that not only their works and deeds, but all th
imaginations are evil perpetually in the sight of G
as proceeding from this depraved and wicked se
Man therefore, as he is in this state, can know no
ing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions c
cerning God and things spiritual, until he be d
joined from this evil seed and united to the Divi
Light, are unprofitable both to himself and others

Some of the writers among the early Friends re
to the fall of Adam in such language as would le
us to infer that in their opinion mankind have
rived some taint or propensity to sin from their p
genitors. Thus George Fox writes, in relation

[1] Apology, Prop. IV., § 4. [2] Apology, Prop. IV.

Adam and Eve, "Thinking to be made wise, they became fools, which brought the rod upon the back of them, which also comes upon all their posterity in the fall."[1]

And Isaac Pennington says: "The wound of man is deep by the fall: he hath really lost God, he is shut out of his commonwealth; yea, in that estate he is altogether without hope (for the hope springs from God's visitation of him with his light, and from the living promise.)"[2]

These expressions, and many others of a similar character, will however admit of another construction; they may have been applied to the general corruption of mankind resulting from actual transgression, for all who have lost their innocence through disobedience to the divine law, are in a fallen state; and even those who are least defiled must be born again "by the incorruptible seed and word of God," before they can enter the kingdom of heaven.

4. In a work published in 1678, called the "New England Fire-brand Quenched," written by G. Fox and John Burnyeat, we find the following question and answer addressed to Roger Williams. "Thou sayest these rotten and crooked dispositions in every child bring forth wild asses fruit in youth. Wherein did Jeremiah and John Baptist or such as were *clean and sanctified in the womb* bring forth such fruits as thou speakest of?" * * * * "All these Scriptures do not prove that Jeremiah and

[1] G. Fox, Doctrinals, 723. Work's Am. ed., VI. 9.

[2] Pennington's Works, I. 339.

John, that were sanctified in the womb, and the children that Paul speaketh of (*Cor.* vii., that he said were *holy*), that they were conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, because David said, he was."[1]

§ 5. The early experience of Fox, Howgill, Pennington, and Burrough were very remarkable, and seem to have been related in great simplicity, without reference to popular theology. G. Fox writes in his Journal: "When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for *while I was a child* I was taught how to walk so as to keep pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; and to keep to yea and nay in all things."

And William Penn writes of Fox, that "from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid and observing beyond his years."[2]

Francis Howgill, who died a martyr in Appleby jail, said just before his death: "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any inquire after my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith that I lived in and suffered for."

Isaac Pennington, in his "Brief Account of his Soul's Travel" says: "My heart from my childhood was pointed towards the Lord, whom I feared and longed after from my tender years, wherein I fel

[1] Part II., p. 136. [2] Preface to Journal of G. F., p. 29.

that I could not be satisfied with (nor indeed seek after) the things of this perishing world, which naturally pass away; but I desired the true sense of, and unity with, that which abideth forever. There was somewhat indeed then still within me (even the seed of eternity) which leavened and balanced my spirit almost continually; but I knew it not distinctly, so as to turn to it and give up to it, entirely and understandingly."[1]

William Penn, after referring to the deep religious exercises of Isaac Pennington, thus continues: "Nor did this sorrow flow from a sense of former vice, for he was virtuous from his childhood, but with holy Habakkuk from the dread he had of the majesty of God, and his desire to find a resting-place in the great day of trouble."[2]

Edward Burrough, who died in Newgate prison, a martyr for the testimony of truth, in the 28th year of his age, was a remarkable example of early piety. It is said in the notice of him, in "Piety Promoted," that he "was *in his childhood* ripe in knowledge and did far excel many of his years. Gray hairs were upon him when but a youth, and he was inclined to the best things and the nearest way of worship, according to the Scriptures, accompanying the best men." In his last sickness, "he was in prayer often, both day and night, saying at one time, 'I have had a testimony of the Lord's love to me from my youth, and my heart hath been given up to do his will. I have preached the gospel freely in

[1] Works of I. P., II. 49. [2] Works of I. P., Vol. I.

this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake. Lord, rip open my heart and see if it be not right before thee.' Another time he said, 'There lies no iniquity at my door, but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life, I feel, justifies me.' Afterwards he said to the Lord, 'Thou hast loved me when I was in the womb, and I *have loved thee from my cradle* and from my youth unto this day, and have served thee faithfully in my generation.'"[1]

§ 6. These passages, selected from works that have always been considered standards in the Society, show that the early Friends did not believe in the inherent depravity of man. They were not troubled by the dogmas of theology, and when they came to die they spoke out freely the earnest convictions of their souls. They knew and acknowledged, that the natural propensities of man, if not controlled by divine grace, will lead to sin; but sin cannot be inherent, for it is "the transgression of the law." The divine master said of the Jews, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin." So it is now; we are not sinners by birth, but become so when we disobey his law written in our hearts.

To the unprejudiced mind that confides in the testimony of Jesus Christ, there can be no hesitation in believing that infants are in a state of innocence, for "Of such," he said, "is the kingdom of God;" and "in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father."

[1] Piety Promoted, Phila. ed., 1854. Vol. I. p. 51.

§ 7. Another feature in the hideous doctrine of original sin remains to be considered. The doctors of theology not only asserted, in relation to the lust of the flesh, derived, as they said, from Adam's transgression, that "in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation;" but they maintained, moreover, that "This infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate, whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit."[1]

§ 8. This doctrine was rejected by the Friends, and was one of the prominent points of controversy between them and their adversaries. "The Protestant priests, ministers, and teachers," writes George Fox, "preach to the people and teach them both in public and private, that they must carry a body of sin and a body of death, as long as they live on this side the grave; and none can be made free from sin and this body of death as long as they live upon the earth."[2] This doctrine he utterly denies and calls it "preaching sin for term of life."

"And again," he says, "Satan's messengers and ministers say, 'Paul cried out and said, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And he was in a warfare, and therefore people must be in a warfare and carry a body of death and a body of sin about them as long as they live, to the grave, and there is no overcoming nor victory here.' But in this, Satan's messengers

[1] Articles of Church of England; Revised by Westminster Assembly. Neal's Hist. of Puritans, II. 456.

[2] Works of G. F., VI. 436.

and ministers wrong the apostle's words, and do not take them all; for though he cried out, who shall deliver him from that body of death and sin, yet he thanks God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and saith, 'The law of the Spirit of life which is in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the laws of sin and death.'" * * * * "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." * * * * "Thanks be to God who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." * * * * "They that be in Christ are new creatures."[1]

In his Journal, George Fox thus speaks of the joy and peace that succeeded his deep trials and mental conflicts: "Now was I come up in Spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, innocence, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before the fall." * * * * "But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall."[2]

§ 9. The doctrine of Perfection, as held by the early Friends, is thus laid down by Isaac Pennington. "That the Lord God is able perfectly to redeem from sin in this life; that he can cast out the

[1] Works of G. F., VI. 442.

[2] Journal of G. F. New York, 1800. I. 21, 22.

strong man, cleanse the house, and make it fit for himself to dwell in; that he can finish transgression and sin in the heart, and bring in everlasting righteousness; that he can tread down Satan under the feet of his saints, and make them more than conquerors over him; this, they confess, they steadily believe. But that every one that is turned to the light of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, is presently advanced to this state, they never held forth; but that the way is long, the travel hard, the enemies and difficulties many, and that there is need of much faith, hope, patience, repentance, watchfulness against temptations, &c., before the life in them arrive at such a pitch. Yet, for all this, saith Christ to his disciples, 'Be ye perfect;' directing them to aim at such a thing; and the apostle saith, 'Let us go on unto perfection;' and Christ gave a ministry 'for the perfecting of the saints:' and they do not doubt but that he that begins the work, can perfect it even in this life, and so deliver them out of the hands of sin, Satan, and all their spiritual enemies, as that they may serve God without fear of them any more, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of their lives."[1]

§ 10. George Fox, when examined by the magistrates at Derby, was asked, "Are you sanctified?" "Yes," he said, "I am in the paradise of God." "Have you no sin?" "Christ my Saviour hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin." "How do you know that Christ abides in you?"

[1] Works of I. P., I. 269.

"By his Spirit that he hath given me." "Are any of you Christ?" "Nay," he replied, "we are nothing, Christ is all."

CHAPTER IV.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON THE DIVINE BEING.

THE doctrine of the Trinity is thus defined in the articles of the Church of England, revised by the Assembly of divines at Westminster in the year 1643.

"There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be *three persons* of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin, of her substance, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man."[1] * * * *

§ 2. The commonly received doctrine of the Trinity was rejected by the early Friends. George

[1] Neal's Hist. of Puritans, II. 454.

Fox, in reply to Christopher Wade, who had asserted that the Holy Ghost is a person and that there was a Trinity of three persons before Christ was born, says: "Thou knowest not him that is in the Father and the Father in him, glorified with the Father before the world began. And the Scriptures do not tell people of a trinity, nor three persons, but the common-prayer mass book speaks of three persons, brought in by thy father the pope, and the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was always one."[1]

Priest Ferguson having asserted that "Christ and the Father, and the Holy Ghost, are not one; but they are three, therefore distinct," G. Fox replies: "This is the denying of Christ's doctrine, who said, 'I and my Father are one,' and the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, and he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and they are all one, *not distinct*, but one in unity, that which comes out from him, leads the saints into all truth, (that ever was given forth from the Spirit of Truth,) and so up to the Father of truth, and so goes back again from whence it came."[2]

Stephen Crisp, in his "Description of the Church of Scotland," says: "The doctrines of your church also are reprovable and corrupt in many things, contrary to the Scriptures. And first in your doctrines of God, whom you say is to be known and believed on as in the distinguishment of three persons; and herein ye teach contrary to the scriptures

[1] Great Mystery, 246; and Works of G. F., III. 397.
[2] G. F. Great Mystery, p. 293; and Works, III. 463.

of truth, which ye say is your rule, and by it are all such dreamers and deceivers judged, and by the spirit which gave them forth, which speaks nowhere of three persons, as ye imagine and teach, but declares of the only wise God, who is one in his being and subsistence, individual, infinite; who divideth all things and to every sort their portion; who limiteth all things and is not limited; whose power and spirit is inseparable from him, who is the Father of the spirits of all flesh, who by his power createth and by his spirit quickeneth all living creatures; *whose power is the Christ*, and whose spirit is the holy and eternal life which they partake of who wait for his appearance in his power. And these doth not the Scriptures call three persons, but *the one witness in the Heaven*, which you are all ignorant of who dream and divine to the people of a distinguishment of persons in the Godhead."[1]

In relation to "The Trinity of distinct and separate persons in the unity of essence," Wm. Penn writes as follows: "It is requisite I should inform thee, reader, concerning its original: thou mayst assure thyself it is not from the Scriptures, nor reason, since so expressly repugnant; although all broachers of their own inventions strongly endeavor to reconcile them with that holy record. Know then, my friend, it was born above three hundred years after the ancient gospel was declared, and that through the nice distinctions and too daring curiosity of the bishop of Alexandria, who being as

[1] S. Crisp's Works, p. 75.

hotly opposed by Arius, their zeal so reciprocally blew the fire of contention, animosity, and persecution, till at last they sacrificed each other to their mutual revenge." * * * * "Be therefore cautioned, reader, not to embrace the determination of prejudiced councils for evangelical doctrine which the Scriptures bear no certain testimony to; neither was believed by the primitive saints, or thus stated by any I have read of in the first, second, or third centuries; particularly Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, with many others who appear wholly foreign to the matter in controversy."

After quoting many passages of Scripture showing that God is one, and there is no other besides Him, he thus proceeds: "If God, as the Scriptures testify, hath never been declared or believed, but as the Holy One, then will it follow, that God is not an holy three, nor doth subsist in three distinct and separate Holy Ones."[1]

From the conclusion of the same work, the following passage is quoted:—"Mistake me not, we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are One, but man's inventions: For, 1. *Their Trinity* has not so much as a foundation in the Scriptures. 2. Its original was three hundred years

[1] Sandy Foundation Shaken. This treatise is included in Penn's *Select Works* published under the care of the London Meeting for Sufferings in 1771. By a minute of London Yearly Meeting, dated 1768, the Meeting for Sufferings was desired to send to the several counties, the new proposals laid before that meeting for printing the selected parts of W. Penn's Works on larger paper and better letter.

after Christianity was in the world. 3. It having cost much blood; in the council of Sirmium, Anno 355, it was decided that thenceforth the controversy should not be remembered, because the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof. Why then should it be mentioned now with a *Maranatha* on all that will not bow to this abstruse opinion? 4. And it doubtless hath occasioned idolatry: witness the popish images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 5. It scandalizeth Jews, Turks, and Infidels, and palpably obstructs their reception of the Christian doctrine."

§ 3. Such is William Penn's clear and decided testimony against the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the Church of Rome, the Church of England, and nearly all the Protestant sects; but in a later work he acknowledges what he calls the "Scripture Trinity."[1] It being charged that "the Quakers deny the Trinity," he answers in these words: "Nothing less. They believe in the Holy three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to Scripture. And that these three are truly and properly one: of one nature as well as will; but they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms for schoolmen's; such as, 'distinct and separate persons,' and subsistences, &c. are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

In this passage he refers to the text 1 *John* v. 7: "There are three that bear record in heaven, the

[1] The Key, Penn's Select Works, p. 682.

ather, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these hree are one." This text is not found in the most ncient Greek manuscripts extant, it is omitted in uther's translation of the Bible, it is inserted in he *early* English translations, but with marks of oubtfulness, and its genuineness is now considered o doubtful to allow of its use in substantiating hristian doctrine.[1]

In the doctrinal writings of the early Friends is text is often quoted, and a marked emphasis is nerally placed on the last clause, which they unrstood to mean that God is truly and properly one ivine Being.

§ 4. When the Act of toleration was about to be ssed in the reign of William and Mary, it conined a clause extending its benefits to "All such ho profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus rist his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the oly Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, ne God blessed forever: And do acknowledge e Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament be the revealed will and word of God."

This confession being considered by Friends "unriptural," George Whitehead and John Vaughton esented to a committee of Parliament the following substitute, which was adopted, viz.: "I profess ith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his ernal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, ne God blessed forever; and do acknowledge the oly Scriptures of the Old and New Testament o be given by Divine inspiration."

[1] See Clark's Commentary.

In relation to this confession of faith, Georg
Whitehead observes: "We were therefore of nece
sity put upon offering the said confession, it bein
also our known professed principle, sincerely to co
fess Christ the Son of the living God, His divinit
and as he is the Eternal Word: and that the thre
which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Wor
and the Holy Ghost, are one: *one divine Being, on
God blessed forever.*"[1]

It will be observed that the confession of faith
first proposed in the Bill before Parliament, con-
tained this expression, "The Holy Spirit co-equa
with the Father and the Son,"—which seemed to
imply the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit,
and was not satisfactory to the Friends. They did
not admit of any such distinction; but believed in
God as a Spirit, holy, wise and good, omniscient,
omnipresent and omnipotent.

§ 5. Robert Barclay, in his "Apology Vindicated,"
thus replies to an opponent: "I desire to know of
him in what Scripture he finds these words, 'Tha
the Spirit is a distinct person of the Trinity?' For
I freely acknowledge, according to the Scripture
that the Spirit of God proceedeth from the Father
and the Son, and is God."[2]

These quotations may be sufficient to prove that
the early Friends believed in the unity of the Di-
vine Being, agreeably to the Scripture testimony;
"To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are

[1] Christian Progress of G. Whitehead, London ed. 1725, p. 635.
[2] Barclay's Works, London ed. 1692, p. 745.

all things, and we in him." The second part of the text remains now to be considered: "And one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things and we by him."[1]

§ 6. The Divinity of Christ, or God manifest in the flesh, was uniformly maintained as one of the doctrines of Friends; they also acknowledged his manhood in accordance with the Scriptures.

Man is an immortal soul united to a mortal body. The body is referred to by the Apostle Paul as a house in which the soul lodges for a time. He says: "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."[2] The Messiah also referred to the body as a temple, saying, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." * * * * "But he spake of the temple of his body."[3] In this prediction it is the soul that speaks, in the name or power of God, for it is said he was "raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father."[4] The soul of Christ is spoken of in the Scriptures. He said, "Now is my soul troubled." * * * * "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death."[5] And in the Acts we read that "His soul was not left in hell [Hades], neither his flesh did see corruption."

§ 7. The question arises, was it a human soul? He spoke of himself as a man, saying, "Now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth,

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 6.
[2] 2 Cor. v. 1.
[3] John ii. 19, 21.
[4] Rom. vi. 4.
[5] John xii. 27; Matt. xxvi. 38; Mark xiv. 13.

which I have heard of God."[1] John the Baptist sa of him, "After me cometh a man which is preferre before me; for he was before me." And Peter, o the day of Pentecost, spoke of him, as "Jesus c Nazareth, a man approved of God, among you b miracles and wonders and signs which God did b him."[2] "He took not on him the nature of angel but he took on him the seed of Abraham, where fore, in all things, it behooved him, to be made lik unto his brethren that he might be a merciful an faithful high-priest."[3] "For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feelings o our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."[4] Now if he was in a things made like unto his brethren, and in all point tempted like as we are, yet without sin; it follow that he had the appetites, affection and desires o our animal and spiritual nature which, if unr strained, will lead to sin; but these propensitie were all kept in their places and governed by the Divine power which dwelt in him, "For it please the Father that in him should all fulness dwell."[5]

§ 8. Let us now consider who it was that "too on him the seed of Abraham," thus assuming huma nature, in order to redeem mankind, and wh brought life and immortality to light through th gospel. It was the Eternal Word (*Logos*) that wa in the beginning with God and was God. "Th Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, (and w beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotte

[1] John viii. 40. [2] Acts ii. 22. [3] Heb. ii. 16, 17.
[4] Heb. iv. 15. [5] Col. i. 19.

of the Father,) full of grace and truth."[1] "For the life was manifested, and we have seen it and bear witness and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us."[2] When the Most High, "in the beginning," put forth his creative energy, saying, "Let there be light;" this divine "Word," by which he spoke the worlds into being, was an emanation from himself, a manifestation of his wisdom and power. The same holy and divine Word was manifested to our first parents, while in a state of innocence,—as their light and life; but when they had transgressed the divine law, it became their reprover, for when they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, they hid themselves, and the Lord called unto Adam, and said unto him, "Where art thou?"

The Apostle Paul refers to this Eternal Word, as being with the children of Israel in the wilderness, for "they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock *was Christ.*"[3] Peter also refers to the same, "the Spirit of Christ," which was in the prophets, and which "testified beforehand of the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow."[4]

In a treatise by Isaac Pennington, entitled "Life and Immortality brought to Light," he treats "of the threefold appearance of Christ, to wit, under the law, in a body of flesh, and in his spirit and power."

[1] John i. 14.
[2] 1 John. i. 2.
[3] 1 Cor. x. 4.
[4] 1 Pet. i. 11.

Under the first head, he refers to the various appearances of Christ, as related in the Old Testament,—to Abraham on the plains of Mamre,—to Jacob when he wrestled with the angel,—to Moses at the burning bush,—to Joshua at Jericho, as the captain of the Lord's host,—to the three children in the fiery furnace, when he appeared in the midst of the fire in a form like the Son of God,—"and particularly that glorious appearance of God, sitting upon a throne and his train filling the temple, as seen by Isaiah,[1] when the Seraphims cried one unto another and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory." This was an appearance of Christ to the prophet, as is manifest, *John* xii. 41, where the Evangelist (relating to that place) useth this expression: "These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory and spake of him."

"Secondly, concerning Christ's appearance in the body of flesh. When the time of these shadows drew towards an end, and the fulness of time was come, he who thus appeared in several types and shadows among that people of the Jews under the law, now came down from the Father, debased himself, and clothed himself like a man, partaking of flesh and blood, and was in all things made like unto us, (excepting sin, for he was the Lamb without spot,) humbling himself to come under the law (and under the curse) by fulfilling the righteousness thereof, and bringing them through into the righteousness everlasting. Now while he was in the

[1] Isa. vi.

dly, his glory did shine to the eye of the children true wisdom: his disciples, (to whom not flesh nd blood, nor the wisdom and knowledge which hey could get from the letter, but his Father re-ealed him,) they saw the hidden glory; they saw hrough the veil of flesh, and beheld him as the nly-begotten of the Father, full of grace and uth.

"Thirdly. Now the third appearance of Christ, hich these two outward appearances made way for, as his appearance in spirit; even his pure, inward, avenly appearance in the hearts of his children. his he bids his disciples wait for, telling them that would not leave them comfortless, but would come ain to them." * * * * "Did not Christ send the irit, the Comforter? Did he not come in the irit and power of the Most High, to be with them ways to the end of the world?"[1]

§ 9. These views of Pennington are in accordance th those generally expressed in the writings of the rly Friends; but the objection may arise, in the inds of some: are there not here two Christs held rth,—one the Eternal Word, the other "the man irist Jesus"? To this it may be answered, it was e indwelling of the Father that constituted Jesus e Christ,—the anointed of God,—the Saviour of en. He said, "I can of mine own self do noth-g; as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, ecause I seek not mine own will, but the will of e Father which sent me." "The words that I

[1] Pennington's Works, I. 376, 380.

speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but *the Father that dwelleth in me*, he doeth the works."[1]

§ 10. In none of the writings of the early Friends is this point more fully elucidated than in the account given by Sewel and Penn, of a debate between the Friends and Baptists at the Barbican in London, in the year 1674. The disputants on the part of the Friends were George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, and George Keith. At that time, Keith was in full unity with the Society, it being about eighteen years before his apostasy. An account of this controversy having been given in the Second Volume of this history, Chapter XII., its insertion here is deemed unnecessary. It contains an exposition of the views of the early Friends in relation to the divinity and manhood of Jesus Christ. They affirmed that "these names [Jesus Christ] are given to him most properly and eminently as God, and less properly, yet truly as man." And in William Penn's letter to G. Fox, concerning this debate, he says: "Christ is called the head, that is, the most noble member: the church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body." * * * * "In my confession at the close, I said that we believed in Christ: both as he was the man Jesus, and God over all, blessed forever. And I am sure Paul divides him more than we did, (*Rom.* ix. 5,) since he makes a distinction between Christ as God and Christ as man."

Another letter of William Penn, addressed to

[1] John v. 30, and xiv. 10.

Robert Turner in 1692, in relation to the Keithian controversy, alludes to the same subject as follows, viz.: "As to believing in Christ's manhood, it is Friends' principle, he is like unto us in all things, sin excepted, and that manhood is not vanished; though out of sight, it is somewhere; and wherever it is, it must be in a glorified state; but what that state is, or where it is, or how to frame ideas of either in our minds, are intrusions or curiosities above what is written or convenient. Can we hope our manhood shall be glorified and deny his to be so, that made way with his within the vail, for ours? He is glorified for us as *our common head*, and we shall with him be glorified too, *as his members*, if we through patience and tribulation overcome also." * * * * "But now when this is said, that Christ came in our nature, and has glorified it as an eternal temple to himself, yet he is to be known nearer (than so without us), and that is in us. Thus Paul knew him, and preached him as the riches of the glory of the Christian day, the mystery hid from ages and generations, and then revealed 'Christ in them the hope of glory.'"[1]

§ 11. In the year 1691, at the beginning of the Keithian controversy in Pennsylvania, a number of the most prominent Friends in England addressed an Epistle to the brethren in America, from which the following passage is selected. "Do not we believe our souls are immortal, and shall be preserved in their distinct and proper beings, and spiritual

[1] Janney's Life of Penn, p. 375.

glorious bodies, such as shall be proper for them, as it shall please God to give, that we may be capable of our particular rewards and different degrees of glory after this life, or in the world to come; as one star differs from another star in glory and magnitude, and they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars in the firmament forever and ever! How then can it be otherwise believed, or apprehended in the truth, but that our most blessed and elder brother Jesus Christ, even as mediator, is ever in being in a most glorious state, (as with his Heavenly Father,) who in the day of his flesh on earth, so deeply and unspeakably suffered for us and for all mankind, both inwardly and outwardly, — inwardly by temptations, sorrows, and burthens, (as to his innocent soul by man's iniquities,) and outwardly by persecutions and the cruel death of the cross, as to his blessed body, which arose again the third day, and wherein he also ascended, according to the Scriptures; but it has not seemed proper or safe for us to be inquisitive about what manner of change his body had or met with after his resurrection and ascension, so as to become so glorious, heavenly or celestial as no doubt it is, far transcending what it was when on earth, in a humble, low, and suffering condition."

"Neither has it been our places to be curious or inquisitive about the bodies of the saints hereafter, as to question how the dead are or shall be raised, or with what bodies do they come, (or come they forth). For if the apostle esteemed such questions necessary to salvation, he would not have given them such reprehension and answers as he did in

al terms, and for a spiritual body to be raised given as it pleaseth God, distinguishing the ual from the natural, and the celestial from the trial bodies, which we have always believed, in sition to carnal professors, gross and carnal con- ons and imaginations, about the *sameness of l* or earthly bodies."[1]

2. In this letter, it will be observed, there are oints pertinent to the present inquiry. First. s the belief of those Friends, that Jesus Christ, ead of the Church, and the saints, his mem- in their heavenly state, are not in carnal, but iritual bodies. This agrees with the following age of G. Fox: "So if the 'vile body' be ed and fashioned like unto his glorious body, it *the same*, and consequently do not ye under- the Lord Jesus Christ and his body, ye that are g such by-names to his body, as humane and nity? Yea, some have been so bold as to say e is in heaven with a natural and carnal body, hese have been some of the grossest sort of sors."[2]

ondly. The phrase, "our most blessed and *brother* Jesus Christ," which occurs in the fore- letter, is significant; nor is this the only in- e in which it is found in the writings of the Friends. William Bayly writes of our being

is letter, dated London 28th, 7th month, 1691, was signed rge Whitehead, Samuel Waldingfield, John Field, Benj. us, William Bingley, John Vaughton, Alex. Seaton, Danl. , and Patrick Livingston. It is inserted in Smith's Hist. , Hazard's Register, Vol. VI. p. 243, and in Bowden's Hist. [.

ctrinals, 467, and Am. ed., V. 154.

"possessors of a *measure* of the same spirit of grace and truth that was in that person Christ our *elder brother*."[1] And G. Fox the younger, in a letter addressed to General Monk, referring to the spirit of forgiveness which he felt, says, "This I have learned of Christ my *elder brother*, who is my strength and ability, in whom I have peace, which the world cannot take away."[2]

§ 13. The expression is not inconsistent with the sacred writings, but appears to be deduced from them. The first-born, or elder brother, among the Jews, was the head of the family or tribe, and the heir of his father's authority. The term was used as a title of dignity. The Apostle Paul speaks of the Son of God as the first-born among many brethren,"[3] "For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified, are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee."[4] The Messiah frequently referred to the believers as his brethren. After he was risen, he said to Mary Magdalene, "Go to my brethren and say unto them, 'I ascend unto my Father and to your Father, and to my God and your God.'"[5]

§ 14. It will be observed that William Penn in his letter to G. Fox, says, "Christ is called the Head, that is the most noble member, the Church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body." And in his letter to R. Turner, again writing of the manhood of Christ, he says, "He is glorified for us

[1] W. Bayly's Works, Phila., 1830, p. 122.
[2] Writings of G. Fox the younger, London ed., 1665, p. 266.
[3] Rom. viii. 29. [4] Heb. ii. 11, 12. [5] John xx. 17.

as our common head, and we shall with him be glorified too, as his members, if we through patience and tribulation overcome also." This appears to correspond with the Apostolic writings, in which the church or assembly of the righteous is compared to the human body. "For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many are one body: so also is Christ."[1] "He is the head of the body, the Church; who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell."[2] "Of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace."[3] "He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God, for God hath not given the Spirit by measure unto him."[4] "There is one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all, but to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ."[5]

§ 15. This distinction between the fulness of divine life which dwelt in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the measure of grace imparted to the members of his spiritual body, according to their several capacities or the services required of them, was constantly kept in view by the early Friends. It was so distinctive a feature in their communications, that the phrase, "according to my measure," was considered, by the world, one of the marks of Quakerism.

§ 16. William Penn, in his "Christian Quaker," (ch. xvi.,) writes as follows: "I have these two short arguments farther to prove what I believe and assert

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 12. [2] Col. i. 18, 19. [3] John i. 16.
[4] John iii. 34. [5] Eph. iv. 6, 7.

as to the spirituality of the true seed, and a clear overthrow it is to the opinion of our adversaries concerning the true Christ. First, every thing begets its like. What is simply natural produces not a spiritual being. Material things bring not forth things that are immaterial. Now because the nature or image begotten in the hearts of true believers is spiritual, it will follow, that the seed which so begets and brings forth that birth must be the same in nature with that which is begotten, therefore spiritual. Then Christ's body, or what he had from the Virgin, strictly considered as such was not the seed.

"Secondly, it is clear from hence: The Serpent is a spirit. Now nothing bruises the serpent's head in man, but something that is also internal and spiritual, as the serpent is. But if the body of Christ were only the seed, then could he not bruise the serpent's head in all, because the body of Christ is not so much as in any one, (though too many have weakly concluded it upon us, from a perversion or mistake of our doctrine of *Christ in man*, by his light and spirit,) and consequently the seed of the promise is an holy and spiritual principle of light, life, and power, that being received into the heart bruiseth the serpent's head. And because the seed (which in this sense cannot be that body) is Christ, as testify the Scriptures, *the seed is one and that seed Christ*, and Christ God over all blessed forever, (*Gal.* iii. 16,) we do conclude that Christ was, and is, the Divine word of light and life, that was in the beginning with God, and was and is, God over all blessed forever."[1]

§ 17. Robert Barclay, in his "Apology for the true

[1] Penn's Select Works, p. 260.

Christian Divinity;" writing of the seed, grace, or word of God,—the Light wherewith every one is enlightened, says, by this: "We understand a spiritual, heavenly and invisible principle in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit dwells; a measure of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature draws, invites and inclines to God." * * * * "But by this we do not at all intend to equal ourselves to that holy man the Lord Jesus Christ who was born of the virgin Mary, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, so neither do we *destroy the reality of his present existence*, as some have falsely calumniated us. For though we affirm that Christ dwells in us, yet not immediately, but mediately, as he is in that seed which is in us; whereas he, to wit, the Eternal Word, which was with God and was God, dwelt immediately in that holy man. He then is as the head, and we as the members; he the vine and we the branches. We also freely reject the heresy of Appolinarius, who denied him to have any soul, but said the body was only actuated by the Godhead. As also the error of Eutyches, who made the manhood to be wholly swallowed up of the Godhead. Wherefore as we believe he was a true and real man, so we also believe that he continues so to be glorified in the heavens in soul and body, by whom God shall judge the world, in the great and general day of judgment."[1]

§ 18. The same author, in his treatise called "Quakerism confirmed," says: "Christ in us, or the Seed, is not a third spiritual nature, distinct from that which

[1] Apology, Prop. V. and VI., § 13.

was in the man Christ Jesus, that was crucified a
cording to the flesh at Jerusalem:" * * * * "
same seed and life is in us, which was in him;
is in him in the fulness, as water is in the
and in us as the stream: and this seed and
nature, which is both in him and us, doth belo
him, as he is the second Adam, or man C
* * * * "This seed is not our souls; but is a
betwixt God and us: and our union with God
mediate through this; whereas the union of God
this is immediate. Therefore none of us are
Christ or God; but God and Christ are in
"If a man love me," said Christ, "he will k
words: and my Father will love him, and
come unto him, and make *our* abode with him."[1]

Now, if this Seed or Divine Word, "is a
betwixt God and us," and our union with him "
but *mediate* through this," it must be through th
that our Holy Head Christ Jesus, in whom all f
ness dwells, is the Mediator between God and m
"For there is one God, and one mediator betwe
God and man, the man Christ Jesus."[2] As Mo
was a Mediator to ordain the legal dispensation,[3]
Jesus Christ was and is the Mediator of the N
Covenant: first to proclaim and exemplify it, in t
day of his outward advent; and, secondly, through
time, in the ministrations of his Spirit. "The Spi
itself maketh intercession for us with groanings th
cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hea
knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because
maketh intercession for the saints according to

[1] Works of R. B., p. 627 and 628. [2] John xiv. 23.
[3] 1 Tim. ii. 5. [4] Deut. v. 5. Gal. iii. 19.

ill of God." * * * * "It is Christ that died, yea, ther that is risen again, who is even at the right ınd of God, who also maketh intercession for us."[1] In accordance with this view, Geo. Fox writes: "I y, none know him as a *mediator* and a lawgiver, ›r an offering, nor his blood that cleanseth them, but they know him working in them, and they be in e sophistry of their divinity that know not the ory of the grace of Christ working in them."[2]

§ 19. "We ought to consider," writes Geo. Whitehead, "that Christ as he is God and man, does not ;t, or give spiritual gifts separately from God the reator; whether they be light, grace, spirit, power, r wisdom, which are one principle and being; for esus Christ, when he speaks as man, or as Mediaor, always gives the preference to the Heavenly 'ather, as when he saith: 'The Son can do nothing f himself but what he seeth the Father do. And ıy Father worketh hitherto and I work.' And likeise what power, glory, spirit, life, light, and wisom, the Son hath to give or impart unto men, specially unto true believers, his followers,) it is all ·st given him of the Father: He received gifts for ıen, 'yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord ight dwell among them,' *Psalm* lxviii. 18. Of hom did he receive them, but of his Heavenly ather?"[3]

§ 20. Those who are familiar with the writings of ıe early Friends, must have observed the deep re·rence with which they speak of the blessed Jesus, s the immaculate Son of God, and Saviour of men.

[1] Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34.

[2] Great Mystery, 58. Works, Am. ed., III. 119–20.

[3] Christian Progress of G. Whitehead, p. 210.

Doubtless the same feeling pervaded their religious discourses; an instance of which is here subjoined, being an extract from a "Farewell Sermon," preached by Wm. Penn, in London just before his second voyage to America in 1699.

"It concerneth us all to live in the exercise of that divine gift, and grace and ability, which our Lord Jesus Christ hath distributed and communicated to every member of his body, that we may come to shine as stars in the firmament of glory. We should do good in our several places and stations, according to our different powers and capacities. And as every member is by the circulation of the blood made useful and beneficial in the natural body, so the divine life and blood of the Son of God circulates through his mystical body, and reaches life to every living member. Here is no obstruction through unfaithfulness or inordinate love of the world, or any temptation from without us, or corruption from within us. Here is a free channel, here is an open passage for life and quickening influences from Christ our glorious Head, in all his members. There is in Christ (in whom the Godhead dwells bodily) a river whose streams make glad the city of God, a fountain to supply and refresh the whole generation of the righteous that desire to be found in him, (as the apostle speaks,) not having their own righteousness, but clothed with the robe of his righteousness, which is the garment of salvation."[1]

[1] Janney's Life of Penn, 415; and The Friend, London, 3d mo., 1863.

CHAPTER V.

VIEWS OF THE EARLY FRIENDS COMPARED WITH THE POPULAR THEOLOGY ON SALVATION BY CHRIST.

§ 1. It was a doctrine maintained both by the early Friends and their opponents, that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," and that this object was promoted, by his life, his teachings and his sufferings, but they differed in regard to the mode in which this work is effected.

§ 2. The Church of England in her second Article teaches that, "Christ, very God and very man, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to *reconcile his Father* to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men." This Article was modified by the Westminster Assembly by inserting after the word "suffered,"—"most grievous torments in his soul from God." In her eleventh Article revised, it was asserted that "We are justified, that is we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins, not for or by our own works or deservings, but freely by his grace, only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, his whole obedience and *satisfaction* being by God *imputed* unto us, and Christ with his righteousness being apprehended and rested on by faith only."[1]

The commonly received doctrine of Atonement is, "the *satisfying* of divine justice by Jesus Christ giving himself a ransom for us, *undergoing the penalty* due to our sins, and thereby releasing us from that punishment which God might justly inflict upon us." Im-

[1] Neal, II. 454–6.

putation is defined to be, "God's gracious donation of the righteousness of Christ to believers and his acceptance of their persons as righteous on the account thereof. Their sins being *imputed to him*, and his obedience being *imputed to them*, they are in virtue hereof both acquitted from guilt and accepted as righteous before God." Propitiation is defined, "a sacrifice offered to God to *assuage his wrath* and render him propitious."[1] And the *new covenant* is said to be "ratified afresh by the blood and actual sufferings of Christ."[2]

§ 3. It was moreover taught, as a part of the commonly received doctrine, that justification *precedes* sanctification, and is not the result of any righteousness in the person justified; but from the righteousness of Christ imputed to sinners who believe in him. Hence the assertion—"The person therefore that is justified, is accepted *without any cause in himself*."[3]

§ 4. Now the questions to be examined are these. 1. Did the early Friends believe or teach the doctrine of imputative righteousness? 2. Did they teach the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction, viz., That Jesus Christ, as a substitute, paid the penalty of our sins, was punished for man's transgressions, to satisfy divine justice, or that he died to appease the wrath of God and *reconcile his Father to us?* 3. Did they teach that justification precedes sanctification, or that justification may take place without the subject of it being made just? 4. And finally, did they believe that "the blood of the everlasting covenant" by which redemption is effected, was the material blood of the Messiah shed on Mount Calvary?

[1] Buck's Theological Dictionary. [2] Cruden's Con.
[3] Buck's Theological Dictionary.

§ 5. In regard to imputative righteousness. The question being asked, "whether a believer be justified by Christ's righteousness *imputed*, yea or no?" George Fox answered, "He that believeth is born of God, and he that is born of God is justified by Christ alone *without imputation*."[1]

Wm. Penn, in his "Sandy Foundation Shaken," has one section with the following heading, viz., "The justification of impure persons, by an imputative righteousness, refuted from Scripture." Among the texts quoted are these: "Keep thee far from a false matter and the innocent and righteous slay thou not, for I will not justify the wicked;" *Ex.* xxiii. 7. "He that justifieth the wicked and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord;" *Prov.* xvii. 15. "The son shall not bear the iniquity of his father; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."

"From whence it may be very clearly argued that none can be in a state of justification from the righteousness performed by another imputed to them, but as they are actually redeemed from the commission of sin."

Robert Barclay, in refuting the commonly received doctrine, "That as our sin is imputed to Christ who had no sin, so Christ's righteousness is imputed to us without our being righteous," makes use of the following argument. "Though Christ bore our sins and suffered for us, and was *among men* accounted a sinner and numbered among transgressors; yet that

[1] Saul's Errand to Damascus, London ed. 1654, p. 12, and Works of G. F., III. 595.

God reputed him a sinner is nowhere proved. For it is said, 'he was found before him holy, harmless and undefiled, neither was there found any guile in his mouth.' That we deserved these things and much more for our sins which he endured in obedience to the Father, and according to his counsel, is true; but that ever God reputed him a sinner, is denied: neither did he ever die that we should be *reputed righteous;* though no more really such than he was a sinner, (as hereafter appears). For indeed, if this argument hold, it might be stretched that length as to become very pleasing to wicked men, that love to abide in their sins. For if we be made righteous as Christ was made a sinner, merely by *imputation*, then as there was no sin, not in the least in Christ, so it would follow, that there needed no more righteousness, no more holiness, no more inward sanctification in us than there was sin in him. So then by his 'being made sin for us,' (2 *Cor.* v. 21,) must be understood his suffering for our sins that we might be made partakers *of the grace purchased* by him; by the *workings whereof* we are made the righteousness of God in him. For that the apostle understood here a being made *really* righteous, and not merely a being *reputed* such, appears by what follows, seeing in verses 14, 15, 16 of the following chapter he argues largely against any supposed agreement of light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness, which must needs be admitted, if men be reckoned ingrafted in Christ and real members of him merely by an imputative righteousness, wholly without them, while they themselves are actually unrighteous. And indeed, it may be thought strange how some men have made this *fundamental* an *article* of their faith, which is so co-

trary to the whole strain of the gospel; a thing Christ in none of his sermons and gracious speeches ever willed any to rely upon; always recommending to us works as instrumental in our justification: and the more 'tis to be admired at, because that sentence or term (so frequent in their mouths and so often pressed by them as the very basis of their hope and confidence), to wit, the *imputed righteousness of Christ*, is not to be found in all the Bible, at least, as to my observation."[1]

"Alas!" says Isaac Pennington, "how do men mistake about the righteousness of Christ, about the gospel righteousness; and in effect, make it but the righteousness of the old covenant, performed in the person of another for us, and imputed to us! Whereas it is the righteousness of another covenant, even of the new and living covenant, which the Lord Jesus worketh both in us and for us. Now whoever receiveth this righteousness from him, and is clothed with it by him, he findeth it to be the righteousness of the gospel, the new and living righteousness, the true and everlasting righteousness, both of the father and son, which the souls of those that truly believe partake of in them and with them."[2]

§ 6. Did the early Friends teach the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction; viz., that Jesus Christ, as a substitute, paid the penalty of our sins, or was punished for man's transgressions to satisfy divine justice, or that he died to appease the wrath of God, and *reconcile his Father* to us?

Geo. Whitehead, in his work entitled "The Divi-

[1] Barclay's Apology, London ed. 1692, Prop. VII. § 6.
[2] Works of I. P., II. 519.

nity of Christ," in answer to Thomas Vincent and others, states the difference between Friends' doctrines and those of their opponents, as follows:—

"Query by G. W. How is this satisfaction made by Christ?"

"T. V. It depends upon him as the second person in the Trinity."

"Query by G. W. Does it depend upon him as man, or as God and man?"

"T. V. 'It was necessary that the person that should make satisfaction, should be man, because none but a creature could suffer.' But then he adds, 'It were necessary he should be God, otherwise the sufferings and satisfaction would have been but finite.'"

"Query by G. W. What then, were the sufferings infinite that the wicked inflicted upon the body of Christ, seeing nothing but a creature could suffer, he saith, and yet as a creature could give no proportionable satisfaction to infinite justice. What confusion is here! For as God he could not suffer nor die, as is confessed; but God did strengthen the manhood to bear up under such a pressure of wrath: But where doth the scripture say, 'that Christ, the second person in the Trinity, did suffer under infinite wrath, either as God or man or both?'" * * * * "What amounts this to, that God made a satisfaction to, and paid himself either by inflicting infinite wrath upon Christ as God (which cannot be), or else that he satisfied himself by the finite sufferings of Christ as man, whereas that which was finite could not satisfy infiniteness, (they say). And as God-man, can, they say he was the subject of wrath or vindictive justice (as their term is). How these things

ould be reconciled, I leave to the ingenious readers judge."[1]

In an Appendix to his treatise entitled "The Prester's Antidote Tried," Geo. Whitehead writes as lows:—

"*Question.* The satisfaction, what? and in what l it consist?"

"*Answer.* 1. Not rigid payment from Christ to d. 2. *Not of the nature of payment* for all sins st, present, and to come, as stated by sin-pleasers. *Not Christ's undergoing infinite wrath* or revenge m his Father, for these were never exacted nor uired of him. But the satisfaction was in Christ the son of the Father's love, the delight of his l, and as he was a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling our to him. Both the Father and the Son conde- nded in one and the same infinite love for man's overy out of sin and death, and for his deliverance m wrath to come, they being equally kind to man d equally angry at man's sin. God so loved the rld that he freely sent his only-begotten Son, &c. d in the same love the Son freely gave his life, , even himself, a ransom for all, for a testimony due time."

"*Question.* Whether divine justice did properly d strictly require a full payment and punishment on Christ, in man's stead, for all the debt con- cted and injury done by fallen man?"

"*Answer.* No; Christ's sufferings were not of that ture or intent; but as it was by the grace of God t he tasted death for every man, they showed d's patience and proclaimed his mercy, in order

[1] The Divinity of Christ, by G. W. London ed. 1669, pp. 45, 46.

to pardon all that return to him from the evil of their ways."[1]

In another work, Geo. Whitehead thus replies to an opponent: "That all men's debts should be so strictly paid, or such a severe satisfaction made, to vindicate justice, by Christ in their stead, which God never imposed upon the son of his love, and that for sins past, present, and to come (as some say) is inconsistent. Besides the gross liberty this gives to sin, how agrees it with his teaching them to pray, 'Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors?' For what needed that, if they be all so strictly paid in their stead."[2]

Wm. Penn says, "I can boldly challenge any person to give me one scripture phrase which does approach the doctrine of satisfaction, (much less the name,) considering to what degree it is stretched, not that we do deny, but really confess, that Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his father's will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice; but not to pay God or help him (as otherwise being unable) to save men."[3]

Robert Barclay, in the 5th and 6th Propositions of his Apology, treats of "Universal Redemption by Christ." "God," he says, "hath so loved the world that he hath given his only son a Light, that whosoever believeth in him shall be saved, who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world and maketh manifest all things that are reprovable, and teacheth all temperance, righteousness and godliness, and this

[1] The Presbyter's Antidote Tried, published with Christian Quaker. Phila. 1824, p. 448.

[2] Lux Eorta Est, ditto, p. 322.

[3] Sandy Foundation Shaken, Penn's Select Works, p. 22.

Light enlighteneth the hearts of all for a time in order to salvation; and this is it which reproves the sin of all individuals and would *work out* the salvation of all if not resisted." It is obvious from this passage, that he attributes Redemption and Salvation to that change of heart which is wrought in man by obedience to the Light. This Light he says is universal, "being the purchase of his death who tasted death for every man."

In these propositions, Barclay does not maintain the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction,—he does not say that the Messiah suffered death as a substitute for sinners to satisfy a broken law, or to appease divine wrath. There is however a passage in the argument connected with these propositions, (§ XV.) which is erroneously supposed by some to bear that construction. It reads as follows: "Nevertheless as we firmly believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his own self 'bare our sins in his own body on the tree,' so we believe that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice and no otherwise. For it is by the obedience of that one, that the free gift is come upon all to justification."

The meaning intended to be conveyed may be elucidated by reference to other passages in the same work, and by bearing in mind the belief of the early Friends, that through the obedience and sufferings of Christ he obtained for his Church Divine favor and spiritual gifts, for "when he ascended up on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men;" *Eph.* iv. 8. These gifts being "for the perfecting of

the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ," had a direct relation to the salvation of mankind.

It is therefore not warrantable, in construing the passage last quoted from Barclay, to draw the conclusion that he believed the sufferings of Christ had the effect of appeasing the wrath, or satisfying the justice of God. On the contrary, he attributes both sanctification and justification to the work of Christ in the obedient soul. "As many," he says, "as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God: by which holy birth (to wit) Jesus Christ formed within us and working his work in us, are we sanctified; so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words, 'But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.'"[1]

The necessity of sacrifice to obtain Divine favor has, from the earliest ages and throughout the world, been very generally felt. To enlightened minds it has been shown that the sacrifice acceptable to God is "a broken spirit and a contrite heart," accompanied by the offering up of every impure affection and lust. These being understood to spring from the animal nature, were typified by the beasts offered in sacrifice, the flesh being consumed, and the blood, which is the life, sprinkled on the altar.

Such were the offerings made by Abel, Noah, and the patriarchs. They were subsequently ordained

[1] Apology, Prop. VII.

and amplified in the ritual of Moses, which was doubtless adapted to the condition of a people that had for centuries been held in Egyptian bondage. In the fulness of time the Messiah appeared to call men from outward types to inward realities, and from the letter to the spirit. "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances," he "took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross."[1] The idea of sacrifice being familiar to all, the term was applied figuratively, by the writers of the New Testament, not only to the death of the Messiah on the cross, but to the martyrdom of the saints, to the surrender of the human will and affections to the Divine government, and to the good deeds performed by the believers in Christ. Thus Paul says of his own expected martyrdom, "I am now ready to be offered."[2] "If I be offered upon the *sacrifice* and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all."[3] He writes to the brethren, "I beseech you by the mercies of God that ye present your bodies a living *sacrifice*, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service."[4] And in acknowledging a gift sent him by the Philippians, he terms "it an odour of a sweet smell, a *sacrifice* acceptable, well-pleasing to God."[5]

The same kind of figurative language is still in use; we speak of the reformers having *sacrificed* their lives for the cause of truth, and of religious liberty having been purchased by the blood of the martyrs; but no one thinks of taking such expressions literally.

§ 7. The doctrine of Reconciliation, as taught in the writings of the early Friends, is strictly in accord-

[1] Col. ii. 14. [2] 2 Tim. iv. 6. [3] Phil. ii. 17.
[4] Rom. xii. 1. [5] Phil. iv. 18.

ance with the Scriptures, being a change *wrought in man* whereby he becomes reconciled to God. There can be no change in Deity,—he has always loved mankind. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself;"—not reconciling himself to the world,—for there is no such language in the sacred volume. On this point the views of Isaac Pennington are clear and explicit, viz.:

"*Question* 1. What is reconciliation?

Answer. It is a bringing together the minds and hearts of God and man into one.

Quest. 2. How is this wrought?

Ans. By taking away the enmity of man's nature, which is therein against God, and by planting him into, and causing him to grow up in, that nature and life which God loveth, whereby that is removed from man which God hateth, and which is the cause of separation; and man brought into and brought up in that which is the love and delight of God's heart.

Quest. 3. By what is this reconciliation wrought?

Ans. By the Word of God's power. That comes forth from the love of God unto man; and man being gathered out of himself into that, the evil seed is thereby destroyed, and the good seed of the kingdom thereby cherished, and groweth up in its shadow and nourishment.

Quest. 4. How doth the Word work this?

Ans. By winning upon man, and gathering him into its light, out of man's own darkness, exercising man various ways to empty him of himself, and make him weak in himself, and putting forth its own strength in and for man, as it hath emptied and weakened him in himself."[1]

[1] Works of I. Pennington, I. 609.

§ 8. Did the early Friends teach that Justification precedes Sanctification, or that Justification may take place without the subject of it being made just?

Geo. Fox has expressed his view on this point in unmistakable language, viz.: "They that are not complete in sanctification are not complete in justification, for they are one, they that are complete in the one are complete in the other; and so far as a man is sanctified, so far he is justified, and no farther; for the same that sanctifies a man justifies him; for the same that is his sanctification is his justification, and his wisdom, and his redemption. He that knows one of them, knows all: he that doth not feel one of them, feels none of them at all, for they are all one."[1]

Richard Claridge, in a conference with a Baptist, quoted the text, 1 *Cor.* vi. 11, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God;" and said, that it was evident by the Apostle's words that he did not lead us to an outward righteousness only for our justification, but to an inward righteousness as being the immediate cause thereof. For if we attend to the order of the Apostle's testimony, we must be washed and sanctified before we can be justified. And if we come to witness the efficacious work of the spirit of Christ, in our cleansing and sanctification, then we shall know ourselves to be in a state of justification, and not till then. For though Christ be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, yet no man can comfortably apply him as such to his own soul, but as he first experiences the sanctifying work of the Spirit."[2]

[1] Great Mystery, 284. Works of G. F. III. 450.

[2] Works of R. Claridge, London ed. 1726, p. 78.

Robert Barclay, after quoting the same text, (1 Cor. vi. 11,) proceeds to show that the term justified, as there applied, "must needs be, a being *really made just*, and not a being merely imputed such; else sanctified and washed might be reputed a being esteemed so, and not a being really so: and then it overturns the whole intent of the context. For the Apostle showing them in the preceding verses, how the unrighteous cannot inherit the kingdom of God, and descending to the several species of wickedness, subsumes, that they were sometimes such, but now are not any more such. Wherefore, as they are now washed and sanctified, so are they justified."

It is further shown by Barclay, that the proper and genuine interpretation of justified is *being made just*: the word is "a composition of the verb *facio*, and the adjective *justus*, which is nothing else than thus: *justifico*, i. e. *justum facio*, to make just." [1]

§ 9. Did they believe or teach that the "blood of the everlasting covenant," by which redemption is effected, was the material blood of the Messiah shed on Mount Calvary?

George Fox wrote a tract, entitled "A Testimony concerning the Blood of the Old Covenant and the Blood of the New Covenant," from which the following passages are quoted: "As Moses in the old covenant sprinkled the people with the blood, the life of beasts; so Christ our high priest sprinkles the *hearts and consciences* of his people, in the new covenant, with his blood, his life, 'from their dead works that they may serve the living God in newness of life.' * * * * So the blood of the old covenant was the

[1] Apology, Prop. VII. § 7.

life of the beasts and other creatures: and the blood of the new covenant is the life of Christ Jesus, who saith, 'except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.' So the blood of the new covenant is not according to the old, and so with this blood of the new covenant must every one feel their hearts sprinkled if they have life; and in this new covenant they shall all know the Lord, &c. And by this blood of Jesus, his life in the new covenant, they are justified, in whom we have redemption and the forgiveness of sins; and Christ hath purchased his Church with his own blood, his life, and their faith doth stand in his blood which is the life of the Lamb. Therefore the Apostle saith, 'If ye walk in the light as he is in the light, then ye have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ Jesus, his Son, cleanseth from all sin.'"[1] This testimony is in accordance with that of the Apostle John, viz., "God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life." * * * * "In him was life, and the life was the light of men."[2]

Isaac Pennington has expressed his sentiment on this point in the following passage:—

"*Question* 1. What is redemption?

"*Answer.* It is the purchasing of the vessel out of the captivity and misery of death, into the liberty and blessedness of divine life, sown, revealed, grown up and perfected in the heart.

"*Quest.* 2. Who is the Redeemer?

"*Ans.* The Son of God, the child of God's beget-

[1] Works of G. F., V. 363–4; Doctrinals, 644–5.

[2] 1 John v. 11, 12, and John i. 4.

ting, the divine image who naturally believes and fulfils the will of the Father, in every vessel which it hath prepared.

"*Quest.* 3. By what doth he redeem?

"*Ans.* By his blood; by his life; by his power; by his nature sown in the vessel, and transforming the vessel into its own likeness. Yea, this is indeed redemption, when the creature is changed into and brought forth in the image, power, nature, virtue and divine life of him that redeemeth; and the old contrary image perfectly blotted out by the presence and indwelling of the new. This is perfect redemption, the least measure whereof is redemption in a degree."[1]

Robert Barclay, in his work entitled "Truth cleared of Calumnies," replies to an opponent as follows, viz.:

"Whereas thou sayest, 'Is not the application of Christ's blood and sufferings necessary to them that would profit and get good thereby; for though the blood of Christ be a healing plaster, yet the plaster must be applied ere the sore can be healed. Now what application can the soul make of Christ's blood, who knows no such thing? The blood of Christ is applied by faith, but true faith is not a blind faith.'

"*Answer.* It is granted: but this blood is known and felt within, to wash and purge the conscience; for Christ, as he is within is not without *his blood, which is spiritual*, even the pure blood of the vine; and is that wine of the kingdom which is inwardly felt to wash and to refresh, which he gives to them who know not distinctly the outward shedding of the blood as it was many hundred years ago, and which many

[1] Pennington's Works, I. 610.

are ignorant of who have heard much of the outward shedding of his blood, but know not the blood as shed and poured forth in them, to sprinkle their consciences from dead works? for it is a mystery sealed up from all who stand in opposition to his light within. But there mark thy own words, 'the plaster must be applied, ere the sore can be healed.' Must not the saving grace be applied ere the soul can be converted or healed?"[1]

It is observed by Wm. Penn, that "one outward thing cannot be the proper figure or representative of another. Nor is it the way of holy Scripture so to teach us. The outward Lamb shows forth the inward Lamb; the Jew outward the Jew inward."[2]

In accordance with this view, Geo. Whitehead asks, "Did not the killing and sacrificing of bulls, goats and heifers typify or figure forth the killing and destroying that corrupt, beastly nature and enmity in man, which is for death and destruction, and of which those beasts were as a lively emblem?"[3]

§ 10. Having shown by the foregoing extracts from the writings of the most prominent among the early Friends, that they did not believe or teach some of the doctrines then deemed essential by the churches called orthodox; it is proper now to demonstrate that they did believe and teach the doctrine of salvation by Christ, as set forth in the New Testament.

The healing of the soul, as suggested by Barclay, is one of the most appropriate figures to illustrate the nature of salvation; for as sin is a malady of the soul that will cause spiritual death, so salvation is the

[1] Barclay's Works, p. 10. [2] Select Works, p. 260.
[3] Presbyter's Antidote Tried, Appendix.

health of the soul, and will secure eternal life. As the Messiah, through the divine power that dwelt in him, wrought many great miracles, healing the sick and cleansing the lepers, causing the blind to see and the deaf to hear, and even restoring the dead to life; so the same Divine Power, or Spirit of Christ, now heals the maladies of the soul, cleanses it from pollution, enables it to see his light and to hear his word, and thus restores it from death to life.

The redemption that is wrought for us by Christ as a spirit of light and life in the soul, and the work of reconciliation that was effected by him while in that "body prepared" in which he came to do his Father's will, are explained at large in the 17th and 18th chapters of Wm. Penn's "Christian Quaker." In order to present both aspects of the subject as treated by him, the following selections may suffice.

"As at any time disobedient men have hearkened to the still small voice of the *Word*, that messenger of God in their hearts, to be affected and convinced by it, as it brings reproof for sin, which is but a fatherly chastisement; so upon true brokenness of soul and contrition of spirit, that very same Principle and word of life in man, has *mediated and atoned*, and God has been *propitious*, lifting up the light of his countenance, and replenishing such humble penitents with divine consolations. So that still the same Christ, Word-God, who has lighted all men, is by sin grieved and burdened, and bears the iniquities of such as so sin and reject his benefits. But as any hear his knocks and let him into their hearts, he first wounds and then heals. Afterwards he atones, mediates and reinstates man in the holy image he is fallen from by sin. Behold this is the state of restitution! and this

some measure was witnessed by the holy patriarchs, phets and servants of God in old time, to whom rist was *substantially the same Saviour* and seed bruis- the serpent's head that he is now to us, what dif- ence soever there may be in point of manifestation. "But, notwithstanding, it was the same light and with that which afterwards clothed itself with t outward body, which did in measure inwardly ear for the salvation of the souls of men, yet, as ave often said, never did that Divine Life so emi- tly show forth itself, as in that sanctified and pre- ed body." * * * * "Consider what I say with this lification, that ultimately and chiefly, not wholly l exclusively, the Divine Life in that body was the deemer. For the sufferings of that holy body of us had an engaging and procuring virtue in them, ugh the Divine Life was that fountain from whence ginally it came. And as the Life declared and ached forth itself through that holy body, so se who then came to the benefit procured by the ine Life, could only do it through an hearty con- sion to it as appearing in that body, and that from ense first given by a measure of the same in them- ves. This is the main import of those places, om God hath set forth to be a propitiation,' and whom we have redemption through faith in his od.' *Rom.* iii. 25. For who is this He, whom d hath set forth, and in whom is redemption? tainly, the same He that was before Abraham, the k of the Fathers, that cried: 'Lo I come to do will, O God; a body hast thou prepared me;' ich was long before the body was conceived and n."[1]

[1] Select Works of W. Penn, pp. 262, 266.

These extracts from the works of Barc
and Pennington, the ablest authors amon
Friends, might, if it were deemed needf
roborated by many passages from the w
other Friends contemporary with them.

§ 11. In treating of the sufferings of Ch
is, perhaps, no part of the Old Testament so
quoted as the 53d chapter of Isaiah. It
to by the evangelist Matthew in the fol
markable passage, viz: "When the even
they brought unto him many that were
with devils; and he cast out the spirits with
and healed all that were sick: that it mi
filled which was spoken by Esaias, the propl
Himself took our infirmities and bare
nesses." In considering this passage,
arises, how did he take their infirmities
their sicknesses? Assuredly not by beco
self infirm and sick, nor were they healed
his health imputed to them; but "he cast
by his word," which was "the power of G
wisdom of God." In like manner the s
Word, or Spirit of Christ, still removes
ties; not by imputation, but by healing o
diseases, if we have faith in him and obey

It is admitted, even by trinitarian wr
"the doctrine of atonement, as far as rel
is nothing more than the doctrine of rec
And indeed, in a sense agreeable to thi
bringing into a state of concord and rec
the word atonement itself had been orig
by our old English writers, with whom,
to Junius, Skinner, and Johnson, it was
one-ment; signifying to be at-one or t

an agreement."[1] Now, as "the carnal mind is enmity against God," and as no change can take place in Deity, the change must be wrought in man, in order that reconciliation may be effected. Hence the peculiar force and propriety of the expression used by the Apostle Paul, "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God." This language is similar to that of the Most High through his prophet Ezekiel, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?"

It is evident that there is nothing implacable in the character of the Deity; the mission of Christ was an evidence of his love and mercy to mankind. "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

The object of his mission is thus stated by himself: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth."[2] He could not bear witness to the truth among that perverse and wicked people without suffering for it. Foreseeing the result, he prophesied of his death and resurrection,—and willingly laid down his life as a testimony for the truth, in order to promote the salvation of the world. His sufferings were both mental and corporeal, and being endured in obedience to the will of his Father, (for he said, not my will but thine be done,) the sacrifice thus made was an offering acceptable to God, and an

[1] Magee on Atonement, pp. 184, 186. [2] John xviii. 37.

evidence to man that "He who spared not his o
son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall
not with him also freely give us all things?"[1] Th
can be no doubt that his agony in the garden
Gethsemane, as well as his mental sufferings
Mount Calvary, when he cried out, "My God,
God, why hast thou forsaken me?" were occasion
by the deep sense he had of the sins of mankin
the burden of which lay upon him and induced h
to say, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even u
death." He was "baptized into death," he ente
into sympathy and suffering for a fallen world; "
humbled himself and became obedient unto dea
even the death of the cross." Before his crucifixi
it was said, "the Holy Ghost was not yet given
cause Jesus was not yet glorified;" that is, it w
not poured forth so abundantly as on the day
Pentecost. But after his resurrection, "He ascend
up on high, he led captivity captive and gave gi
unto men." "Therefore," said Peter, "being by t
right hand of God exalted, and having *received of*
Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, *he hath s*
forth this which ye now see and hear." It m
therefore be truly said he is our "propitiation," "t
mediator of the new covenant," through whom fa
is received.

The personal ministry of Christ, his sublime d
trines, pure life, and wonderful miracles, made, co
paratively, few converts; but when he laid down
life for the sheep, and sealed his testimony with
blood, the impression was far deeper, and then t
apostles going forth in his name and power, we

[1] Rom. viii. 32.

instrumental in gathering many thousands to his fold. They preached not themselves, "but Christ Jesus, the Lord," and to the gift of grace through him, they attributed the wonderful success of their ministry. Thus we see that the effect of Christ's sufferings upon great numbers in that day, was to remove the enmity from their hearts, and by this means reconcile them to God; and the same result has been witnessed to some extent in every age of the Christian Church. But it is the life or power of Christ operating in the soul, that saves from sin, and hence the Apostle Paul says, "If when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life."[1] For in him was life, and the life was the light of men.[2]

§ 12. They who would reign with Christ must be willing to suffer with him. The Apostle Paul wrote to the Colossians: "I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ, for his body's sake which is the Church." The true ministers of the Gospel must, at times, be baptized into sympathy and suffering for the condition of the people, in order that they may minister to their wants; for the whole Church is represented as one body, and, "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

An instance of this spiritual suffering is mentioned in the Journal of G. Fox, who, being asked by Priest Stevens, "Why Christ cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and why

[1] Rom. v. 10. [2] John i. 4.

he said, 'If it be possible let this cup pass from me,' replied as follows: "At that time the sins of the whole world were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions, with which he was wounded, which he was to bear and be an offering for, as he was man but died not as he was God; so in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke being at that time in a measure *sensible of Christ's sufferings* and what he went through." Thus it appears that George Fox was brought into fellowship with Christ in his sufferings, even as Paul was enabled to know him and "the power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death."[1]

§ 13. In the letter of Geo. Fox and others to the Governor and Council of Barbadoes, a full testimony is borne to the divinity of Christ, his miraculous conception, his sufferings, resurrection, and mediation. The following extract may suffice, viz.: "This Jesus who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles is our foundation, and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid, but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who, we believe, tasted death for every man and shed his blood for all men and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. According as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.'" * * * * "He it is that now come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and he rules in our

[1] Phil. iii. 10.

hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death, and we have no life but by him, for he is the quickening Spirit, the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven: by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God."[1]

In one of his tracts, Geo. Fox writes as follows: "The blood of Christ which satisfies the Father, which the saints drink, and his flesh which they eat, which in so doing they have life, is that which the world stumble at; which who drinks lives forever. And the Apostle preached the word of faith in their hearts and in their mouths, and the word reconciles to the Father, and hammers down, and cuts down, and burns up that which separates from the Father; and over it gives victory." * * * * "Whosoever hath not Christ within, is a reprobate, and whosoever hath Christ within, hath the righteousness.[2] Now Christ that suffered, Christ that was offered up, is manifest within, and the saints are of his flesh and of his bone, and eat his flesh and drink his blood, and not another. The Christ that ended the priesthood, ended the offering, ended the temple, ended the law, and the first covenant, the seed of God, Christ Jesus, this is manifest within; he that hath him hath life, justification, sanctification, and redemption." * * * * "And none lift up the Son of God, as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, but as every one is in the light, that the Son of God hath enlightened him withal, and then they know

[1] See letter of G. Fox to Gov. of Barbadoes, Appendix to Vol. II. of this History.

[2] "He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life." 1 John v. 12.

him that draws all men after him."[1] In this passag and in many others that might be adduced from th writings of G. Fox, he explains what he means b that blood of Christ, which "satisfieth the Father, and "reconciles to the Father," even that blood whic the saints drink,—that life or Spirit of Christ whic renovates the soul.

In accordance with this view Robert Barclay write "The body then of Christ, which believers partak of, is spiritual and not carnal, and his blood, whic they drink of, is pure and heavenly, and not huma or elementary."

In conclusion, it may safely be asserted that th early Friends believed and taught the scriptural do trine of salvation by Christ, as a work effected b divine power in the humble obedient soul; but whil they relied upon "the law of the spirit of life i Christ Jesus," which made them "free from the la of sin and death," they failed not to acknowledg their gratitude to Him, "who gave himself for u that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purif unto himself a peculiar people zealous of goo works."

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF FRIENDS' DOCTRINES FRO 1690 TO 1814.

HAVING shown what were the doctrines generall held by Friends *in the time of Geo. Fox*, the nex point for consideration, is the inquiry, whether an

[1] Works of G. Fox, III. 227 228. Great Mystery, 131.

changes have subsequently taken place in the religious views of the Society in Great Britain and Ireland, or in America.

Soon after the death of Fox, a controversy sprung up in America caused by the disaffection of George Keith and the charges of unsoundness in doctrine which he brought against the Society. This controversy having been treated of in a preceding chapter, requires but a brief notice here.[1]

The Keithians assumed the name of Christian Quakers, adopted a confession of faith, and issued a testimony against their former brethren, charging them with heresy. The chief points of difference between the views of George Keith and those of Friends, at the time of his separation, were, that he held the doctrines of original sin, the Trinity, and imputative righteousness.[2] He afterwards embraced the other doctrines of the Church of England, and was ordained a minister of that body.

In the year 1693, thirty-one Friends in England, among whom was George Whitehead, caused the following confession of faith to be presented to Parliament, in order to clear the Society of aspersions cast upon it by "Francis Bugg, an envious apostate."[3]

"Be it known to all, that we sincerely believe and confess, I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the very Christ, the son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witness: and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemp-

[1] See History, Vol. III. chap. 3.

[2] See, examination of Keith's doctrines, Hist. of Fds., Vol. III. chap. 3.

[3] Sewel, II. 357.

tion of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine, and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive, and lives forever in his divine, eternal glory, dominion and power with the Father.

III. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are of divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy or civil government is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil-doers, and praise of them that do well."

The Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London in 1694, issued the following advice to the subordinate meetings: "If there be any such gross errors, false doctrines, or mistakes held by any professing truth, as are either against the validity of Christ's sufferings, blood, resurrection, ascension, or glory in the heavens, according as they are set forth in the Scriptures; or any ways tending to the denial of the heavenly man Christ; such persons ought to be diligently instructed and admonished by faithful Friends and not to be exposed by any to public reproach; and when the error proceeds from ignorance and darkness of their understanding, they ought the more meekly and gently to be informed; but if they shall wilfully persist in error in point of faith, after being duly informed, then such to be further dealt with according to gospel order, that the truth, church, or body of Christ may not suffer by any particular pretended member that is so corrupt."[1] This

[1] Extracts from Minutes and Advices, &c. London, 1802, p. 50.

minute was incorporated into the rules of discipline of London Yearly Meeting.

The Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the year 1694, and again in 1704, issued "A General Testimony" addressed to its members, which contained a declaration of faith in relation to several points of doctrine expressed *entirely* in scripture language.[1]

In 1732, the same Yearly Meeting issued the following advice: "We tenderly and earnestly advise and exhort all parents and heads of families, that they endeavor to instruct their children and families in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, as contained in the Holy Scriptures; and that they incite them to the diligent reading of those excellent writings, which plainly set forth the miraculous conception, birth, holy life, wonderful works, blessed example, meritorious death, and glorious resurrection, ascension and mediation, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and to educate their children in the belief of those important truths, as well as in the belief of the inward manifestation and operation of the Holy Spirit on their own minds, that they may reap the benefit and advantage thereof, for their own peace and everlasting happiness; which is infinitely preferable to all other considerations."[2]

In the year 1726, Richard Claridge published a treatise entitled, "An Essay on the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction for the Sins of Mankind, wherein Wm. Penn's book called the 'Sandy Foundation Shaken,' is defended against the exceptions of Francis Bugg; and the vulgar doctrine of Satisfac-

[1] MS. records.

[2] Book of Discipline.

tion farther refuted from the testimony of t
Scriptures and the concurrent opinions of
both ancient and modern writers."

In this work he says: "As we distinguish
a Scripture Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy
which we unfeignedly believe; and that hum
vised Trinity of three distinct and separate
which we receive not, because the Holy Sc
make no mention of it: so we distinguish
Scripture redemption and the vulgar doct
Satisfaction. The first we receive, the sec
reject."

The vulgar, or commonly received, doct
Satisfaction he thus defines, in the words of
Penn: "That it is impossible for God to
forgive sin, without a plenary Satisfactio
which, he says, "is not to be found in Scriptu
is disallowed of by many, both ancient and
writers."[1] * * * * "As it was," continues
idge, "the main design of Christ's life, docti
miracles to call men to repentance, faith, and
ence, so it was also the great end of his su
and death to accomplish the same glorious
For 'he gave himself for our sins, that h
deliver us from this present evil world, acco
the will of God and our Father, *Gal.* i. 4. 'E
the church and gave himself for it, that h
sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of w
the word; that he might present it to himsel
rious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or a
thing: but that it should be holy and withou
ish.' *Ep.* v. 25, 26, 27. This was a princi

[1] Life of R. Claridge, p. 428.

his giving himself for us, or offering himself a rifice of propitiation for the sins of mankind. or he died for all, that they which live should not e unto themselves, but unto him which died for m and rose again.' 2 *Cor.* v. 15. This is the ument that the apostle much insisted upon, and the further enforcing of it, I shall mention but o places more. 'Ye are bought,' saith he, 'with a ce, therefore glorify God in your body, and in ur spirit which are God's.' 1 *Cor.* vi. 20. 'And u that were sometimes alienated and enemies in ur mind by wicked works, yet now hath he recon- ed in the body of his flesh through death, to pre- nt you holy and unblamable, and unreprovable in sight.'" *Col.* i. 21.[1]

In the year 1732, a book was published in London, titled "A Defence of Quakerism," by Joseph sse. In this work the false charges against iends and misrepresentations of their writings de by Patrick Smith, a vicar in the established urch, are ably refuted, and the doctrines of the ciety established by many quotations from their liest and most valued authors, corroborated by ipture testimony. It maintained that the views ginally promulgated by Geo. Fox and his coad- tors were still held by the Society.

From the date of the publication last noticed, til near the close of the 18th century, there ap- ars to have been but little religious controversy the Society, and there is no reason to suppose re was any change in its doctrines. A strict ad- rence to scriptural language on controverted points

[1] Life of R. Claridge, 445.

had the advantage of securing peace and concealing from public view any difference of sentiment that may have existed among its ministers. The work of Joseph Phipps, published about the year 1788, on "the original and present state of man," is so nearly in accordance with the doctrines of Barclay's "Apology," that a particular notice of it is deemed unnecessary.

At the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, a "Summary of the History, Doctrine and Discipline of the Society of Friends" was written by Joseph Gurney Bevan, and published in the year 1790.[1] The first three paragraphs, relating to the "general belief" of the Society, are here subjoined, viz.: —

"We agree with other professors of the Christian name, in the belief of one eternal God, the creator and preserver of the universe; and in Jesus Christ his Son, the Messiah and Mediator of the new covenant.

"When we speak of the glorious display of the love of God to mankind in the miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection and ascension of our Saviour, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in Scripture; and contented with that knowledge which Divine wisdom hath seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain under the veil; nevertheless we acknowledge and assert the Divinity of Christ, who is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.

[1] London Ed. 1800, appended to "A Refutation of Modern Misrepresentations, &c." The "*Summary*" was republished in 1834 *with sundry alterations*, for the Tract Association of Friends in England.

"To Christ alone we give the title of the Word of God, and not to the Scriptures; although we highly esteem these sacred writings, in subordination to the Spirit from which they were given forth; and we hold with the Apostle Paul, that they are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

In America, the writings of Woolman, Benezet, and some others, published about the middle of the 18th century, contributed to promote practical piety, but were not designed to elucidate those points of doctrine which have been the chief subjects of religious controversy.

In the year 1793, Job Scott, of Providence, R. I., one of the most eminent ministers in the Society, while engaged in a gospel mission to Great Britain and Ireland, was called to exchange the trials of time for the rewards of eternity. He left behind him a Journal and other writings on religious subjects, most of which have since been published, and are found to be replete with spiritual instruction.

In a letter written just before his death, he says: "I trust I as firmly believe in the Divinity of Christ as any man living, but I have no more belief that there are two divinities than two Gods. It is altogether clear to my mind, that, that one Divinity actually became the seed of the woman, and bruised the serpent's head, as early as any man ever witnessed redemption from sin, and is one in the head and in all the members, he being like us in all things, except sin. My only hope of eternal salvation is on this ground; nor do I believe there has ever been any other possible way of salvation, but that of a real conception and birth of the divinity in man." This passage was omitted in the

first edition of his Journal published in New York in 1797; but having obtained publicity in England, through a letter of Ann Tuke, (afterwards Ann Alexander,) who attended him in his last sickness, it was severely criticised by some, and defended by John Bevan, junior, in a work entitled, "A Defence of the Christian Doctrines of the Society of Friends against the charge of Socinianism."[1] The doctrine embraced in the foregoing extract, being treated of very fully in the writings of Job Scott, the following passages, selected from his works, are deemed appropriate.

"Some zealous trinitarian may think me as wicked as the Jews thought Christ, my Lord and Saviour, and be ready to pronounce me as they did him, a blasphemer for thus exposing the sandy foundation on which that Babel of confusion, the *common doctrine* of the trinity is built. And did I not believe that God is determined to confound the wisdom of the wise, I should greatly marvel that wise and sober men of every religious name in Christendom have not long ago united in exploding such a monster of absurdity."[2]

"Christ as he is God is the same with the Father, and no more a distinct person from him, than God as light, and God as love, is two distinct fountains; one of light, the other of love. Hence with the strictest propriety his name is, and ought to be, 'The everlasting Father.' Now if he is the everlasting Father,

[1] Published in London, 1805.

[2] "On the Knowledge of the Lord," &c.; Works of Job Scott, II. p. 298. The original MSS. of Job Scott, comprising this essay and another entitled "Salvation by Christ," together with his "Journal," and many other writings, were placed by his father-in-law and children in the hands of John Comly, by whom they were published in two volumes, octavo, in the year 1831.

'ho can distinguish him from the Father, or make im a distinct person? Observe well, that I speak of 'hrist now as he is God."

"The Word was God, and this word took flesh, ccording to that testimony, 'Lo! I come, a body ast thou prepared me.' Here is both he that came, ie eternal Word, and the body that was prepared for im. He told Philip, 'He that hath seen me hath ien the Father also.' Surely many saw that outward ody, who did not see the Father, but all who saw irough the veil, so as to have a full view and clear ght of him, for whom the body was prepared, him 'ho came to do the Father's will in that body, saw ie Father.

"'My Father,' said he, 'is greater than I.' Here e speaks of himself in a different respect from what e did in saying, 'I and my Father are one.' Why ill the wisdom of man through ages strive so hard) fix the crown of Godhead on flesh and blood? Did ot Jesus tell of a day and hour, of which neither the ngels nor the Son himself knew, but the Father nly? Surely Christ, the holy Word, that was and is lod, knows, and always did know all things. If he new not something which yet the Father did know, ben he could not be God. Hence we may safely conlude, that by the Son which he here says *knew not*, ie meant the same as when he said, 'My Father is reater than I,' but it is certain there is no greater or ess in God nor any lack of knowledge."[1]

"The death and sufferings of Christ in that body re of great price in the sight of God, and in all hings have the pre-eminence in the views of the

[1] Works of Job Scott, II. 302, 303.

saints. Therein was wonderfully held forth the way of salvation, as a work of God in man and of man by God; that it is all through *suffering;* a wounding to heal, and a killing to make alive in God. He, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, has always borne the chastisement of our peace; nor without his stripes were any ever healed. God hath laid on him the iniquities of us all, but unless we *partake* in the chastisement and *feel* his stripes, we are not healed; for he that will save his life shall lose it; but he that will lose his life and *die* with Christ, shall save it unto life eternal. Ever of old, 'in all their afflictions he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them;' *Isa.* lxiii. 9. They had his real presence, or all else had been useless; they were afflicted with him, as well as he with them, and those who know not reconciliation with God and remission of sins in this way are not reconciled to him. But this is *death to man's will and wisdom too;* he won't endure it; he had rather believe or pretend to believe anything than die into life. His whole aim as man, in his own activity in religion, is to climb up some other way; and among his many inventions that he may seem to come in by Christ, he has hewn out the broken cistern of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to man in transgression! But his righteousness is forever unimputable to all who have not died with him to sin, and risen in the power of his resurrection to newness of life; it can be no further imputed to any, than they are actually conformed to his death and the fellowship of his sufferings. There is an eternal distance and separation between Christ and all that is unholy. No grain of his righteousness was ever imputed to any soul, but in exact proportion to

its actual sanctification or submission to the divine will."[1]

The high esteem in which Job Scott was held as a minister of the gospel, both in Europe and America, has been noticed in a preceding chapter of this history. He was called by Luke Howard, "a powerful preacher, though but a *mystical* divine."[2] His mysticism was of the same stamp as that of Isaac Pennington, — "a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven," who "brought forth out of his treasures, things new and old."

About the beginning of the present century, Thos. Clarkson published his "Portraiture of Quakerism," a work that was well received by Friends in England and America, extensively circulated, and presented by members of the Society to many distinguished persons, including some of the crowned heads of Europe.[3] For many years, while advocating the abolition of the slave-trade, Clarkson had been brought into close intimacy with some of the most intelligent Friends in England, and was thus made acquainted with the religious views that generally prevailed among them in the latter part of the 18th century.

After showing that the work of Creation, the illumination of the mind, and the redemption of the soul, are in the Scriptures attributed alike to the spirit of

[1] "Salvation by Christ," Job Scott's Works, Vol. I. p. 488.

[2] Luke Howard, the editor of "The Yorkshireman," was a man of parts and learning, and at one time an influential Friend, much employed in meeting affairs. He was very *orthodox*, and in 1837 concluded he could no longer "walk together" with the Society of Friends. He then submitted to the rite of water baptism, and communed with another church.

[3] The Yorkshireman, II. 334.

God and to Christ, Clarkson proceeds to state as
doctrine of Friends, "That Christ in all the offi
stated in the proposition is neither more nor less t
the Spirit of God, there can surely be no doubt.
looking at Christ, we are generally apt to view
with carnal eyes. We can seldom divest oursel
of the idea of a body belonging to him, though
was confessedly human, and can seldom consider
as a pure principle or fountain of divine life and li
in men."[1] * * * *

"That Christ therefore, as he held the offices c
tained in the proposition, was the Spirit of God,
may pronounce from various views which we
take of him, all of which seem to lead us to the s
conclusion. And first let us look at Christ in
scriptural light in which he has been held forth t
in the fourth section of the seventh chapter, whe
have explained the particular notions of the Quak
relative to the new birth. God may be conside
here as having produced, by means of his Holy Spi
a birth of divine life in the soul of the 'body wh
had been prepared,' and this birth was Christ.
'that which is born of the Spirit,' says St. John,
spirit.' The only question then will be as to
magnitude of the Spirit thus produced. In answe
this, St. John says, 'that God gave him not the sp
by measure,' and St. Paul says the same thing: '
in him all the fulness of the godhead dwelt bodi
Now we can have no idea of a spirit without meas
or containing the fulness of the godhead, but
Spirit of God."

The disastrous controversy and separation am

[1] Vol. II. pp. 158, 161. New York ed. 1806.

Friends in Ireland, which came to an end about the beginning of this century, most probably had some influence upon the doctrinal views of Friends in England. It occurred at a time when there was, among the most conservative minds, much anxiety to prevent the inroads of skepticism and infidelity, which in France had made great progress; and so intent were they in watching against these evils, that some were led to the opposite extreme. The controversy related chiefly to the historical part of the Old Testament, to the uncovering of the head in time of public prayer, and to the mode of solemnizing marriages. There was, on the part of the disaffected members, too much boldness and latitude of speculation, and too little regard for the rules and advices of the Yearly Meeting; while on the part of the conservative members, there was a rigid administration of discipline, without the evidence of that Christian meekness and restoring love which alone can preserve "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."[1]

Nearly the same remarks will apply to the doctrinal views of Hannah Barnard, and the course pursued in dealing with her both in England and America.[2] The *first* charge made against her in the London Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders was, "for maintaining opinions not consonant with those of the Society, and especially concerning the divine authority of the Jewish wars as stated in the Old Testament." She said in her defence, that "she had not called in question the truth of the facts stated in the Scriptures relative to the Jewish wars; but

[1] See History of Friends, Vol. IV. chap. 1.

[2] See Hist. of Friends, Vol. IV. chap. 1.

thought they were mistaken in their belief that God approved of their wars, or commanded them to slaughter their enemies." She referred to the writings of Anthony Benezet to corroborate her views. In his "Considerations on War," after quoting from the Sermon on the Mount, he says: "Hence we have reason to believe, that the injunction and allowance granted to the Jews, of making war upon their enemies and one upon another, was in consequence of that hardness of heart, which prevailed among them; and that this permission was granted from the same motive as that mentioned by our Lord, when the Jews were pleading the license given them by Moses to put away their wives and marry other women," *Mark* x. 5. "For the hardness of your hearts Moses wrote you this precept; but from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female—what therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." This, as well as war, slavery, and other practices of the like nature, were a violation upon that union, purity, and brotherly love which subsisted in the beginning in the original constitution of things, whilst man retained his primitive innocency. And that the spilling of human blood was not acceptable in the eyes of perfect Purity, whom the apostle denominates under the appellation of love, *God is Love*, appears from the prohibition laid upon king David, not to build an house unto God on account of his having been concerned in the destruction of his fellow-creatures, as himself declared, 1 *Chron.* xxii. 8. "The word of the Lord came to me saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build an

house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight."

There is no doubt that the tract from which this passage has been extracted, was extensively circulated in America, and generally approved by Friends. In approving these sentiments of Benezet, we cannot suppose they intended to call in question the veracity of Moses, who, in accordance with the ideas entertained by his nation, attributed to the *immediate* action or command of God, much that is now ascribed to his *providential* government. When we speak of Divine Providence, we mean the care and superintendence which the Most High exercises over all creatures and all events; allowing at the same time full scope to the free agency of man.

In order to secure this free agency, without which man could not be a responsible being, many things are permitted to take place that are not right in themselves; but even these, by the overruling of Divine Providence, may be made to promote some good purpose. The sacred writers never refer to an overruling Providence, but ascribe events immediately to God; thus the prophet Daniel declares a great truth in these words: "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

It would seem by the opposition made to Hannah Barnard, on the ground that she did not believe in the rectitude of the Jewish wars, that the most influential Friends in England differed from Benezet, and most of the American Friends, on this point. It is worthy of note, that in the testimony of disownment issued against H. Barnard, by Hudson Monthly Meeting, the Jewish wars were not men-

tioned; but the grounds of accusation were that she called in question the authenticity of various parts of the scriptures of truth both of the Old and New Testament, and particularly that she did not unite with the Society in acknowledging the truth of that part which relates to the *miracles* and *miraculous conception of Christ.*

It has been remarked by Luke Howard, that the case of Hannah Barnard was "one of the first occasions of calling the attention of our Society more closely than at any former period, to the doctrines preached among us, and to the Scriptural proofs of Christian doctrine in general."[1]

In the Yearly Meeting held in London in 1805, it was stated by the committee on epistles, that there was, in the Society, great remissness in the instruction of youth in the principles of the Christian religion. The further consideration of the subject was postponed to the next Yearly Meeting, and then it was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings, with a suggestion that, *as a first step*, a small work be prepared by way of question and answer for the use of children at an early age. In pursuance of these directions, a small tract (24 pages, 12mo.) entitled "Early Christian Instruction in the form of a Dialogue between a Mother and a Child," was presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1807, and, after being revised by the committee on epistles, was adopted by the meeting and distributed to the families of Friends.

This being avowedly only the *first step* in the proposed measure of Christian instruction, the Meeting for Sufferings kept the subject under its notice, and

[1] The Yorkshireman, V. 28.

after deliberating two years upon it, reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1809, "that it had, at different sittings, had under its revision *a draught of a catechism*, to which it had given great attention, and proposed various amendments; but doubts whether it may be expedient for any work of this description, *which enters very minutely into questions of doctrine*, to be issued in the name of the Yearly Meeting." This report being accepted by the Yearly Meeting, the subject was dismissed and the proposed manual of doctrinal instruction abandoned.[1]

In the early part of this century, a controversy was for several years carried on between some of the Friends in England on the Doctrines of the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ. Thomas Foster, writing under the name of Verax, published in the year 1801, "An Appeal to the Society of Friends on the primitive simplicity of their Christian principles." In the following year a reply, supposed to be written by Joseph Gurney Bevan, was published under the signature of Vindex. And a rejoinder by Verax appeared in the year 1803, entitled "A Vindication of Scriptural Unitarianism," &c.

Thomas Foster in his "Vindication," says: "That I consider our early Friends to have been generally Unitarians, I readily admit, and notwithstanding there is considerable ambiguity in their writings, the scale of evidence has always appeared to me to preponderate decidedly in favor of that opinion. They were no doubt, as even Vindex allows William Penn to have been at all times, 'deeply impressed with the importance of holding up the doctrine of

[1] The Yorkshireman, V. 97, 98.

the complete unity of the Deity.' The consistent acknowledgment and reverent belief of this truly scriptural and primitive doctrine, is pure and simple unitarianism. It is in *this sense only*, I have used the phrase, as descriptive of the sentiments of our early Friends."

"That they 'denied the eternal Divinity of Christ,' in the sense in which they used those terms, I am so far from having asserted, that I have given some of the strongest of their expressions in favor of that doctrine. But as with the voice of one man, they rejected all distinction of personality in the Deity; if they affixed any definite or consistent idea to the terms they used on the subject, it must surely have been their intention to ascribe supreme divinity to God the Father only, the uncreated cause of all things. It has been judiciously observed, respecting our early Friends, 'That on the subject of Christ, they sheltered themselves behind the broad shield of allegory, and thus did not clearly discriminate between Christ as a person and Christ as a principle. And this led to great ambiguity of expression in them, and their successors down to the present day. Under the idea of possessing a sound sentiment, clear to their own conceptions, many of them have personified the spirit of divine illumination under the name of Christ, or Christ within, or, in other words, Christ as a principle.'

"I apprehend it was the oneness of this principle with God, which our early Friends alone considered as properly divine and an object of worship."[1]

In 1805, "A Defence of the Christian Doctrines of

[1] T. Foster's Narrative, &c. London, 1813, p. 192.

the Society of Friends against the charge of Socinianism," &c., by John Bevans, Jur., was published in London. In this work, the views of Thomas Foster are controverted, in order to show that the early Friends were not Unitarians, and the impression is attempted to be conveyed, that they were in fact believers in the Trinity. Thus he says: "They, however, not only believed in the Trinity, notwithstanding their objections to the metaphysical terms of the schools, but they also have in the most undisguised terms expressed their belief in the Divinity of Christ. As to the insinuation of Verax, that 'there is considerable ambiguity in their writings,' and 'that on the subject of Christ they sheltered themselves behind the broad shield of allegory; and thus did not discriminate between Christ as a person and Christ as a principle;' I reject it as false, and inconsistent with that 'manly boldness' wherewith, as he elsewhere says, they avowed their sentiments."[1]

Those who are conversant with the writings of Friends published in the time of Geo. Fox, know, that they not only objected to the terms used in defining the Trinity, *as three persons;* but they rejected the idea intended to be conveyed. "There are many names," wrote Isaac Pennington, "but the thing is one. The life, the power, the wisdom in the Father, Son, and Spirit is all one: yea, they themselves are one, perfectly one, not at all divided or separated; but where the Father is, the Son is; and where the Son is, the Spirit is; and where the Spirit is there is both the Father and the Son, who tabernacle in man in the day of the gospel."[2]

[1] Defence, &c., p. 36. [2] Works of I. P., I. 693.

Although John Bevans may have been right in denying that the early Friends "sheltered themselves behind the broad shield of allegory," yet it is unquestionably true that they did write of "*Christ in us*, or the Seed," as a *principle*. "By this," says Barclay, "we understand a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible *principle*, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells, a measure of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God."[1]

W. Penn says of Geo. Fox: "In his testimony or ministry he much labored to open truth to people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the *principle* and *principal*, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves."[2] Again, he says of the Friends: "Their testimony was to the *principle of God* in man." * * * * Numerous passages to this effect may be found in his works and other writings of the early Friends. "Principle, *in a general sense*," is defined by Webster as, "the cause, source, or origin of any thing." And we may affirm that Christ, as the divine Word, is the origin of all things. Principal, the chief or head, is also a term that may properly be applied to Christ, as the "first-born among many brethren,"—the head of the Church.

In the year 1809, a treatise by Rd. Phillips, entitled "Hints chiefly Scriptural respecting Regeneration," was published in London after receiving the

[1] Apology, Prop. V. and VI. § 13.
[2] Rise and Progress. Select Works, p. 275.

usual sanction of the Society. It is said to be almost exactly in accordance with the views of Job Scott, as expressed in his work called "Salvation by Christ." He closes one branch of his argument with these words, viz.: "From what has been said respecting the new birth or regeneration, it appears that there is *no other way of salvation*, than by a real conception and birth of the divine nature in man."

In the year 1812, Ratcliff Monthly Meeting issued a Testimony of disownment, from which the following extract is taken: "It having been represented to this meeting that Thomas Foster, one of its members, had imbibed and aided in propagating some *opinions* contrary to the principles of our Society, and that private labor had been unavailingly extended, a committee was appointed to visit him thereon, who have had several interviews with him, and from their report it appears, that he has joined a society who publicly avow their disbelief of the eternal divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord; that he has circulated some anonymous papers, entitled 'Remarks on the Quakers' Yearly Epistle,' calculated to promote such sentiments; and that he is publicly stated to be the author of some publications under the assumed name of Verax, (which he does not deny,) apparently intended to prove that doctrine to have been held and supported by our early Friends.[1] Against this decision, Thomas Foster appealed to the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex, and the disownment being there confirmed, he appealed to the Yearly Meeting of London."

Joseph John Gurney, who was one of the Yearly

[1] Foster's Narrative, &c. London, 1813, p. 112.

Meeting's Committee on Appeals, has left an account of this case. He says: "In the year 1814,[1] Thomas Foster, a man of talent and education, was disowned by the Monthly Meeting of Ratcliff, for *subscribing to the Unitarian Book Society*. He had long been supposed to entertain low views of the person of Christ; and had he kept those views to himself, he would probably have been left by Friends to pursue his own course. But no sooner did he publicly assist in the diffusion of them, than he became from this overt act, a proper object of the discipline of the Society, and accordingly lost his membership." Joseph John Gurney, after stating that he, as clerk of the committee, drew up a series of resolutions which terminated with one confirming the disownment, thus continues: "Our unanimity being ascertained by the signatures of the whole committee, our report confirming the disownment was presented to the Yearly Meeting. Against our decision Thomas Foster, as in right entitled to do, made his final appeal to the body at large, consisting of about 1200 men Friends of various ages and conditions, *without any written creed*, and without any human president. Then, indeed, came on the trial of the Society's faith, the great question being immediately before us, whether Orthodox Christianity or Unitarianism was the belief of Friends. The appellant's speech was long and insinuating, calculated to amuse the young and perplex the old. The reply of the respondents was plain and luminous, and accompanied by abundant evidence selected from the writings of the early Friends, of

[1] It should be 1812. The *Yearly Meeting's* decision was in 1814.

the uniform adherence of the Society to the doctrines of the Deity and atonement of Christ."[1] * * * * The judgment of the Quarterly Meeting was confirmed, many of the most influential Friends, and some of the younger class, expressing their approval.

The respondents, on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting, near the close of their reply, expressed the following sentiments: "As to the appellant's assurance that he fully believes all that Christ is recorded in the New Testament to have said concerning himself and his doctrines, it is not for us to assert the contrary; but it is plain that he differs from us as to the sense in which many important texts of Scripture are to be understood. A profession of agreement with all the doctrines laid down in the Scriptures, is not a sufficient bond of union; for all Protestants profess to appeal to the Scriptures in defence of their various and opposite principles; and we might as well retain persons in membership who hold that oaths and war are lawful to Christians, as those who do not believe in the *eternal divinity* of *that power which dwelt in* Christ Jesus."[2] This expression seems to refer to the charge made against him by Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, concerning a "disbelief of the eternal divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord."

Thomas Foster insisted that he never hesitated to acknowledge the *eternal divinity of that Power* which dwelt in Christ Jesus, for "all divine power strictly speaking is eternal." "It was not this," he says,

[1] Life of J. J. Gurney, Phila. ed. 1855, I. 108.

[2] It is proper to inform the reader that this paragraph is reported by Thos. Foster, who took notes of the respondents' reply. They declined to give him a copy or to examine his notes. See Foster's Sequel to an Appeal. London, 1816, p. 65.

"but the eternal divinity and omnipotence of Jesus Christ, which my accusers and judges disowned me for not holding, as their own records will prove. And that too, refusing to say whether they meant to apply those terms to the man Christ Jesus, or to that divine power which dwelt in him; nor have I been since informed during any part of the discussion."[1]

The course pursued by the English Friends in this case, contrasts remarkably with the liberality of the English Methodists in relation to the celebrated Adam Clarke. He dissented from the orthodox creed, and from the opinions of his fellow-laborers in the ministry, in relation to "the eternal sonship of Christ," yet he continued in unity with the Society, and at his death "the conference honored him in its minutes as 'one of the great men of his age.'"[2]

Prior to this date, the difference of sentiment on doctrinal subjects, that undoubtedly existed to some extent among Friends, was less obvious, because they usually expressed themselves in scriptural terms; but about this period there appeared an increasing disposition to examine and discuss those theological questions which have so often agitated the Christian world.

CHAPTER VII.

DOCTRINAL VIEWS OF THE ENGLISH FRIENDS.

In England, the religious views entertained by Luke Howard, John Bevans, William Forster, Josiah Fors-

[1] Foster's Sequel to an Appeal. London, 1816, p. 65.
[2] Steven's History of Methodism, III. 266, 475.

ter, George Withey, Jonathan Hutchinson, Lindley Murray, Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Anna Braithwait, and many other influential Friends, were of the stamp usually called orthodox; that is to say, they favored or fully embraced the doctrines of the Anglican Church in relation to the Trinity, original sin, vicarious atonement, and imputed righteousness.

Among this class of Friends, whose influence was very effective in the Yearly Meeting of London, Joseph John Gurney may be considered the representative man, inasmuch as his discourses and writings have contributed more than those of any other person to mould the opinions of Friends in Great Britain. His native talents, intellectual culture, high social position, extensive charities, and sincere piety, entitled him to great consideration; but his education under a clerical preceptor at Oxford, and his subsequent intimacy with bishops and rectors of the established Church, had a tendency to withdraw his attention from the writings of Friends, and to imbue his mind with those doctrines which, in England, are called evangelical.

The ability evinced in expounding his views and his candor in avowing them, render the study of his works the most direct method of ascertaining the doctrines held by influential Friends in England. That the sentiments expressed in his published works were generally coincident with those entertained by leading minds in the Yearly Meeting of London, may be concluded from the fact that his standing in the Society remained unimpaired, and his labors in the ministry were sanctioned by certificates expressive of unity.

On the publication, in 1825, of his "Essays on Christianity," the most elaborate of all his works, and

the most thoroughly orthodox, according to the standard of the Church of England, he received letters of congratulation and approval, not only from the bishop of Norwich and other distinguished churchmen, but from members of his own religious society, among whom were William Forster, Jonathan Hutchinson, and Lindley Murray, prominent members of London Yearly Meeting. "It would be strange," said Wm. Forster, "if I did not feel more than a common and passing interest in the work; for I think I never found myself upon any occasion so much anticipated; it gives utterance to my own views and feelings in such lucid and convincing language, and withal, it solves some of my difficulties so thoroughly and satisfactorily." Jonathan Hutchinson wrote: "I have lately finished a very deliberate reading of thy Essays, and on the whole with a satisfaction that enables me honestly to say, that I am glad to have seen such a book before I die." And Lindley Murray expressed his approbation thus emphatically: "Thou hast indeed by this pious labor very materially served the cause of truth and righteousness."[1]

It must not be understood, however, that Friends in Great Britain were unanimous in approving his works; there were, doubtless, many who dissented from some of his views, but they were either in a minority in the Yearly Meeting, or of a class who had not sufficient influence to stem the popular current.

In order to compare the doctrines of J. J. Gurney, and others of his class, with the writings of the early Friends, the subjects or points to be examined will

[1] Memoirs of J. J. Gurney. Phila. ed. pp. 306, 308.

be taken up in the same order as stated in the first five chapters of this treatise, and reference will be made to the several sections of those chapters for proofs and illustrations.

IMMEDIATE REVELATION.

§ 1. It has been shown in Chap. I. § 9 and 10, "That God has given to every man a measure of the light of his Son, a measure of grace, or a measure of the Spirit, by which he calls, exhorts, and strives with every man in order to save him." This saving power is called by Barclay "an evangelical *principle* of light and life wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world." Apology, Prop. VI.

Joseph John Gurney, alluding to the fall of Adam, writes as follows: "But degraded as man is under the baneful influence of this mournful event, God has been pleased to bestow upon him, in all ages, those 'reproofs of instruction,' which 'are the way of life.' *Prov.* vi. 23. He has graciously communicated to us a law, by which we may so regulate our conduct in the world as to obtain happiness, both here and hereafter. It will, I presume, be without difficulty allowed, that these observations are in a general, yet very important, sense, applicable to all men, whether they are partakers in the benefit of an outward revelation, or are left to that which is usually described as the *light of nature.*" After quoting from *Romans* ii. 13–15, proving that the Gentiles "show the work of the law written in their hearts, their consciences bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another," he continues as follows: "Thus it appears that there

were individuals in ancient times, destitute of an outward revelation, who nevertheless obeyed the will of our Heavenly Father as it is made manifest in the heart, — persons who were taught of God to fear him and to 'work righteousness;' and on the other hand the multitude of the gentiles, who gave themselves up to idolatrous and other vicious practices, were condemned for this very reason, that they sinned against the *light of nature;* and both practised and promoted iniquity, although they knew the 'judgment (or the righteous decision) of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death.'"[1]

Again, he writes: "God has written his moral law on the hearts of all men; or, in other words, has *interwoven a sense of it with their very nature.*"[2] * * * *

These passages which describe the law written in the heart, as *the light of nature*, and as being *interwoven with man's very nature*, are not consistent with the doctrines of Fox, Penn, and Barclay, already quoted; for these writers describe that inward law, to which the conscience bears witness, as "the grace of God which hath appeared to all men,"—"the light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation." Chap. I. § 9 and 10.

It must be observed, however, in justice to J. J. Gurney, that he is not, in this instance, consistent with himself, for he has, elsewhere, acknowledged that the law written in the heart proceeds from the Holy Spirit.

Thus he says, in reference to "the immediate and perceptible operation of the Spirit," * * * * "I have in the first place plainly to declare my belief in

[1] Essays on Christianity, London ed. 1825, pp. 516, 517.
[2] Ibid. 558.

ıison with that of Friends from their first rise to e present day, that the influence of the Holy Spirit very far from being confined to those who have a ıowledge of Holy writ, and of the incarnate, cru- fied, and risen Saviour of whom it testifies. On e contrary, it is my firm conviction, that as Christ ed for all men, so all men, through his mediation ıd sacrifice on the cross, are placed in a capacity ' salvation and receive a *measure of divine light*, hich, although in numberless instances shining 'in ırkness,' and overborne by ignorance and superstı- ɔn, is in its own nature pure and holy, and per- ptible to the rational mind of man — so that those ho believe in it, and obey it, are thereby led to fear od and to keep his law as it is written in their ɜarts; that such as these are accepted for Christ's ke, even though they may never have heard his ıme; and thus sharing in the benefit of his atoning ɜath on the cross, through faith in the degree of ght bestowed upon them, they are to be regarded *partakers in their measure*, and *according to their pacity, of the body and blood of our* Lord and Saviour ɜsus Christ."[1]

What he means by partaking of the body and ood of Christ he elsewhere explains as follows: As eating the bread of life is identical with believ- g in Christ the incarnate Son of God, so eating his ɜsh is identical with such *a belief in him* as is espe- ally directed to his atoning sacrifice." The obvious ıestion arises, How can those believe, in this man- ɜr, who "never have heard of his name?"

[1] J. J. G's Declaration of Faith, Phila. ed. 1847, p. 8.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 2. In the second chapter of this treatise (sect. 1) it has been shown that the first imprisonment of George Fox resulted from his denying the commonly received doctrine, that, by the Scriptures were to be tried "all doctrines, religions, and opinions." He told the people, it was "the Holy Spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried." And Robert Barclay says of the Scriptures, "because they are only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate *primary rule* of faith and manners." They are "a secondary rule subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty." "The letter of the Scriptures is outward of itself a dead thing, a mere declaration of good things, but not the things themselves, therefore it neither is or can be the *chief or principal rule* of Christians." § 2. Nevertheless, the early Friends acknowledged the authenticity and divine authority of the Scriptures, and expressed their willingness that "all their doctrines and practices should be tried by them;" but they believed that none could rightly understand and interpret them without the aid of the Holy Spirit, "which is the first and *principal* leader." § 2 and 4.

Joseph John Gurney, in some passages of his writings, assigns to the Scriptures the *principal*, instead of the *secondary* place, in the *illumination* and *conversion* of the soul. Thus, he writes: "In the fulfilment of the written prophecy; in the wisdom of the

written doctrine; in the purity of the written law—in the harmony of the contents of the Bible, and almost endless variety—and in its efficacy, as the *principal* means employed by divine Providence for the *illumination*, *conversion*, and spiritual edification of men—the inquirer cannot fail to perceive unquestionable indications of the divine origin of Holy Writ."[1]

"Whatsoever in the preachings or writings of modern Christians, has *any tendency to convert*, purify, and save the souls of men, never fails to be found in its *original* form, in the Bible."[2]

"The moral law as *revealed in Scripture*, partakes of the character of its Author: first, because it prescribes the practice of every virtue, and is therefore holy, just, and good; and secondly, because it is spiritual, insinuates itself into the heart, reaching the spirit, and convincing the understanding. It applies to all circumstances, comprehends all conditions, regulates all motives, directs and controls all overt acts."[3]

"The Bible which *alone fully reveals* the nature and character of sin, expressly declares that all men have sinned and are guilty in the sight of God. Although it is *chiefly from the light of Scripture* that we obtain a knowledge of this doctrine, we are quite certain now that we have obtained it, that the doctrine is true."[4]

Compare these passages with the language of Geo. Fox. "I directed them to the divine light of Christ and his Spirit in their hearts, which would let them

[1] Essays on Christianity, p. 543.
[2] Portable Evidence, Phila. ed. 1856, p. 14.
[3] Ibid. 46. [4] Ibid. 126.

see all their evil thoughts, words, and actions, that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might *see their sin*, and also their Saviour Christ Jesus to save them from their sins."[1] This accords with the declaration of Christ, concerning the Comforter or Spirit of Truth, "He will reprove the world of sin."

It has been shown in chap. II. § 1, that Geo. Fox regarded the "more sure word of prophecy," spoken of by Peter, (2 *Pet.* i. 19,) not as the Scriptures, but as the Holy Spirit. The same view is thus expressed by Robert Barclay: "As for the more sure word of prophecy, we grant it to be the rule; but deny that that more sure word is the Scriptures, but it is that *word in the heart* from which the Scriptures came and in and by which the Scriptures are to be interpreted."[2] This view is also supported by the writings of Wm. Penn and Geo. Whitehead.

Joseph John Gurney, in his "Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture," writes as follows: "The idea was at *one* time rather prevalent among the members of our Society that when the Apostle used the term, 'a more sure word of prophecy,' he was alluding not to any thing written, but to that divine illuminating influence by which the prophets were inspired, and which guides the Christian believer into all truth. Such a view of the passage is indeed but seldom insisted on at the present day; but as it is still sometimes advanced, I think it right to acknowledge my own sentiment that

[1] Journal of G. Fox, Vol. I. 187.

[2] Truth cleared of Calumnies. Barclay's Works, London, 1692, p. 17.

it is at variance with that simplicity which we ought always to maintain in the interpretation of the sacred writings. That the very 'sure word of prophecy,' which *had been uttered and was written*, is here meant, is evident from the immediate context, in which the Apostle distinguishes this word from the day-star which arises in the heart, and at the same time identifies it (as I conceive) with prophecy of the Scriptures."

A still more important difference between the doctrinal views of J. J. Gurney and those of the early Friends relates to the acceptation of the word gospel as used in the New Testament. It signifies literally glad tidings, and by Geo. Fox and his coadjutors was understood to mean "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." (*Rom.* i. 16.) And which Paul says, "came not in *word only* but also in *power*." (1 *Thes.* i. 5.)

Geo. Fox writes in his Journal: "I was speaking in the meeting, that the gospel was the *power of God*, and how it brought life and immortality to light in men."[1] At another time he declared that the *gospel was the power of God*, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or any of them were printed or written; and it was preached in every creature; of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books."[2]

Isaac Pennington held the same doctrine; and Robert Barclay has thus expressed it in his Apology, (Prop. V. and VI. § 23:) "This *saving spiritual light is the gospel*, which the Apostle saith expressly is preached in every creature under heaven; even that very gospel

[1] Journal G. F., I. 160. [2] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 25.

of which Paul was made a minister. (*Col.* i. 23.) For the gospel is not a mere declaration of good things, being the power of God unto salvation unto all those that believe, *Rom.* i. 16, though the outward declaration of the gospel be taken sometimes for the gospel; yet it is but figuratively and by a metonymy. For to speak properly, the gospel is this in word, power, and life, which preacheth glad tidings in the hearts of all men, offering salvation unto them, and seeking to redeem them from their iniquities, and therefore it is said to be preached in every creature under heaven: whereas there are many thousands of men and women to whom the outward gospel was never preached."

Joseph John Gurney, on the contrary, limits the application of the term "gospel" to the records of the New Testament. Thus, he says, in reference to persons who have received outward instruction: "Their case is not to be confounded with that of the uninstructed *heathen*, who have *never heard the truth*. To these, the gospel has been preached; *it is written in the book of God* for their instruction, and if they reject it, they do so at their peril."[1] In reference to regeneration, he writes: "In effecting this blessed change in the affections of fallen man, the Holy Spirit makes use of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as his grand appointed instrument. The *gospel written in the Holy Scriptures*, and preached by the Lord's messengers, is a spiritual weapon of heavenly mould, and when wielded by a divine hand, it penetrates the heart and becomes the power of God unto salvation."[2] After commenting on the

[1] Portable Evidence, p. 164. [2] Essay on Love to God, p. 5.

Scripture text, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation," he thus continues: "It is surely much to be regretted, that by *some persons under our name*, the passage on which these remarks are offered has been misunderstood, and (without the smallest intention, as I believe, to deviate from accurate truth,) *wrested* from its obvious meaning. The declaration that 'the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation,' has been regarded not as a description of the efficacy of that gospel for the salvation of sinners, but as a definition of the gospel itself, as if the 'gospel of Christ' and the 'power of God' were convertible terms. Hence it is that 'the gospel' is not the good news of salvation through a crucified Saviour, but the 'power of God,'—or, in other words, the influence of the Holy Spirit in the heart. The tendency of this mistake to dismiss from our view a most important and fundamental part of Christian truth,—that very part on which all the rest is built,—is too obvious to require notice."[1]

THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN.

§ 3. In the third chapter of this treatise the doctrines of the early Friends in relation to the original and present state of man were examined, and the following points established. First. That the doctrine of original sin was not held by them, but was called by Barclay "an invented and unscriptural barbarism." "For if a son bear not the iniquity of his father, (*Ezekiel* xviii. 20,) or of his immediate parents, far less

[1] Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture. New York ed. p. 7.

shall he bear the iniquity of Adam." Therefore no sin is imputed to infants. § 2. Secondly. It was shown that, according to Barclay, there is a seed of sin propagated to all men, which inclines them to iniquity, but it is only by joining with it, or yielding to its influence, that men become sinners. § 3. Thirdly. That the recorded experience and dying expressions of some of the most prominent of the early Friends shows that they did not believe they were born in sin. § 4 and 5. Fourthly. They believed a state of perfection or freedom from sin, attainable in this life. §§ 8, 9, and 10.

Joseph John Gurney, alluding to the fall of Adam and Eve, says: "Their original natural virtue was lost forever; their bodies were condemned to death; and morally they were dead already, prone to wickedness, and destitute of any power of their own to perform a good action. Such is the condition of those persons who are 'dead in trespasses and sins,' a condition common by nature to all mankind. It is a proverb familiar to reason as well as to religion, that no man can 'bring a clean thing out of an unclean,' and the Scriptures teach us that the *moral condition* of Adam was *transmitted* to his descendants of all generations."[1] Again he says in relation to the fall, it "was the immediate cause of a moral degeneracy, and therefore of a *punishable guilt* in the whole family of his descendants."[2] "The whole race of their descendants have inherited a nature infected with sin, and prone to evil."[3] "In consequence of this mournful change, the whole race of their descendants *inherit a sinful*

[1] Portable Evidences, 129.
[2] Essays on Christianity. London, p. 209. [3] Ibid. p. 548.

nature," &c.[1] "We are by nature the children of wrath. Prone to iniquity, and *transgressors from the womb*, we are alienated from God who is the source of all happiness; and in the world to come, eternal separation from Him, and therefore eternal misery is the appointed consequence of our evil doings."[2]

THE DIVINE BEING.

§ 4. In the fourth chapter of this treatise, the doctrines of the early Friends concerning the Supreme Being were exhibited. They may be recapitulated as follows: First. They denied the doctrine of "The Trinity of three distinct and separate persons in the unity of essence." Chap. iv. § 2. Secondly. "They believed in the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit 'as one Divine Being, one God blessed forever.'" § 3 and 4. Thirdly. They denied that the Holy Spirit is a person distinct from the Father and the Son. § 5. Fourthly. They believed in the Divinity of Christ, as God manifest in the flesh; they also acknowledged his manhood, (the soul and body,) according to the Scriptures. § 6. Fifthly. They maintained that the Eternal word that was in the beginning with God and was God, manifested himself as the "Spiritual rock" that followed the Israelites in the wilderness, — as "the Spirit of Christ" that spoke through the prophets, — as the glory of the Lord that appeared to Isaiah in the temple, — as the "only-begotten of the Father" that took flesh, and dwelt in fulness, or without measure, in Jesus of Nazareth, — and as the Comforter or Spirit of Truth that comes "in the spirit and power of the Most High" to "be with his disciples always to the end of the world." § 7 and 8. Sixthly. They held

[1] Essays on Christianity. London, p. 219. [2] Ibid. 510.

that Jesus Christ is the head, or chief member of that spiritual body, of which all are members who are born of the spirit. Hence some of them spoke of him, "as our most blessed and elder brother" who, "*even as mediator is* ever in being in a most glorious state." §§ 9, 10, 11.

Seventhly. They believed that Jesus Christ, the head of the church, and the saints his members, in their heavenly state, are not in carnal but in spiritual bodies. §§ 11, 12, 13, 14.

Eighthly. That "since one outward thing cannot be the proper figure or representative of another," * * * * "then Christ's body, or what he had from the virgin, strictly considered, was not the seed." § 16. "The seed, grace or word of God — the Light wherewith every one is enlightened — is "a spiritual, heavenly and invisible *principle*, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells, *a measure* of which divine and glorious life is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God." * * * * "But by this," says Barclay, "we do not at all intend to equal ourselves to that holy man, the Lord Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, so neither do we destroy the reality of his present existence, as some have falsely calumniated us." § 17.

Ninthly. They acknowledged "The man Christ Jesus" as the "one mediator between God and man," who "received gifts for men" which were "first given him of the Father." Yet, as Geo. Fox writes: "None know him as a *mediator* and a lawgiver, nor an offering, nor his blood that cleanseth them, but as they know him working in them." §§ 18, 19, 20.

Joseph John Gurney, while avoiding the use of the

term Trinity, held the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject, attributing to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit a distinct and separate personality. Thus he writes: "I have never thought it right, either in preaching or writing, to make use of this term, [Trinity,] which is scholastic in its origin, and is liable to misconstruction; but I consider the *doctrine itself*, though far beyond the reach of the natural understanding of man, to be plainly set forth in Scripture; and so far am I from regarding it as merely theoretical in its nature, that I accept it as of the highest practical importance in the experience of every believer."[1] "Such is the scriptural evidence of which we are in possession, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Spirit is God. Having considered this evidence, we may now proceed to take a view of some additional passages of the New Testament, in which the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, whose *deity is thus distinctively and separately* indicated, are presented to our attention as the united *sources* of the Christian's help and consolation, the united *objects* of the Christian's belief and obedience. This description is indeed applicable to the passages already cited from the *Gospel* of John, in relation to the *personality* of the Holy Ghost: *vide* xiv. 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 8."

"With respect to the Holy Spirit, we must in the first place direct our attention to those passages of the Scripture in which he is described not merely in his influence and operation, but in his *personal* character." * * * * "The very pointed allusions made by our Saviour to the *personality* of the Holy

[1] A Declaration of his Faith by J. J. G. Phila. 1847, p. 19.

Spirit are in exact accordance with the mode of expression which was often adopted in allusion to the same subject by his inspired disciples. From various passages in the Book of Acts, and the Epistles, we can scarcely do otherwise than deduce the inference, that these servants of the Lord regarded the Holy Spirit as one possessing a *personal* authority, exercising *personal* powers, and requiring a *personal allegiance.*"[1]

"Now if the inquiry be addressed to us, Who is *this person*, of whom Christ and his apostles thus bear witness?" * * * * "the fundamental principles of our religion and the whole analogy of Scripture, will assuredly admit but of one answer, *This Person* is God."[2]

"In order to complete our views of the Scriptural evidences which bear upon the present subject, I have now to observe, that, although this ***threefold distinction*** in the divine nature is the most clearly revealed to us in the New Testament, yet there are also various passages in the Sacred writings of the ancient Hebrews, which appear to indicate a ***plurality*** in the *One* God."[3] "On a careful perusal of the whole of the sacred volume, he [the honest inquirer] is led to take a view, first, of the ***natural*** and moral attributes of the Supreme Being; secondly, of the ***personality*** and unity in Him of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit," &c.[4]

In relation to the manhood of Jesus Christ, Joseph

[1] Essays on Christianity, 145, 148.

[2] Essays, London ed. 1825. I am informed that in the 3d edition, these words [this Person] are omitted and the pronoun He substituted.

[3] Ibid. 153.

[4] Ibid. 559.

John Gurney writes as follows: "His body was a human body, and his mind a human mind; and therefore we cannot with any reason refuse to allow, that he was really and absolutely man."

"Now I conceive that no one who takes a just and comprehensive view of these prophecies on the one hand, and of the gospel narratives on the other, can refuse to admit the doctrine of the *real and proper humanity* of Jesus Christ." * * * * He "was unquestionably man—a creature of God, endued with a human body and a human soul."[1] "If we admit that Jesus of Nazareth was endued with a human soul, (and where is the unsophisticated reader of the *four* Gospels who will question the fact?) we must also admit, on principles already recognized, that after he expired on the cross *his soul continued* to exist; and continuing to exist, that soul was presently reunited to his body, which was raised on earth and glorified in heaven."[2] "Wonderful indeed are both the equity and the love God has manifested in ordaining that his rational children shall be judged by a *Person* who in one point of view is their brother and heir *peer*."[3]

This expression—their *peer*—though *less reverential*, was probably meant to be understood in the same sense as that of "our elder brother," found in the writings of the early Friends. A peer is "*an equal*, one of the same rank,"[4] but the elder brother, in the Jewish economy, was the heir of his father's authority and the head of the tribe. So also, in the aristocratic families of Europe, the eldest brother is

[1] Essays, London ed. 1825, pp. 222, 258.
[2] Essays, London ed. 1825, p. 351.
[3] Essays, 323
[4] Webster.

the heir of the title and estate. The term *peer*, as used by Gurney, is improperly applied. — "We do not at all intend to *equal* ourselves," says Barclay, "to that holy man the Lord Jesus Christ."

But this "*Person*" who is thus characterized as "a creature of God" — a "brother and peer," — is by the same author represented as God. For instance, he says: "Who was that *Person* who thus became incarnate, was born, lived, died, and rose again, *a man?* It was *he* who shared the glory of the Father before the world was — the only-begotten Son of God, who dwelt in his bosom — the Word by whom all things were made, by whom all men were enlightened, and who was himself Jehovah. Since then eternity is the very first of the attributes of Deity, since the divine nature is unchangeable, so that he who was God in the beginning was God forever, it plainly follows, that when the Son or Word of the Father assumed our nature and was born a child into the world, he who before had been God *only*, became *God* and *man*. While, however, this inspired narrative plainly unfolds and establishes the doctrine, that Jesus was *man*, it abounds with a variety of evidence that he was also God." "The doctrine of the godhead or deity of Christ is a necessary deduction from that of his eternal pre-existence: for while the being of every creature of God has necessarily commenced at some particular point of time, God alone has existed from eternity."[1]

"Since therefore, when Jesus was born, when a body was prepared for him, — when he was made incarnate of a woman, and thus came into the world, — he

[1] Essays, 258, 264, 230.

proceeded forth from God and descended from heaven, it follows that *before his birth, before his incarnation*, he was with God in heaven. As the doctrine that Jesus Christ pre-existed in glory with the Father, is thus plainly to be deduced from the declarations of Scripture, so there are other passages of the sacred volume (perfectly accordant with these declarations) from which we may derive much information respecting the *antecedent extent* of his pre-existence." After quoting many passages of Scripture, the conclusion from them is thus expressed: "Such are some of the principal passages in Scripture on which Christians ground their belief, that their Redeemer pre-existed in some higher condition than that which appertains to mortals; and which enable them to trace his pre-existence backward, even to the 'days of eternity.' What then was the nature in which Christ thus pre-existed? I venture to reply on what I deem to be the clear authority of the Sacred records, — not the nature of men — not that of angels — not that of any order of creatures, however eminent in the scale of being, but the nature of God himself."[1]

In relation to the Spirit of Christ, Joseph John Gurney writes as follows: "It has always been the doctrine of the Society of Friends that Christ — even that very Saviour who became incarnate — was crucified and rose again — is "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." *John* i. 9. "For my own part, I cordially concur with the sentiment, that He who dwells and reigns by his Holy Spirit *in the souls of his believing children*, appears by a measure of the same spirit, in the hearts of *all men*, to

[1] Essays, 225, 229.

enlighten and direct their consciences, to bring them to a sense of their responsibility to God, and to lead them in the paths of virtue. It is my belief, that all men, everywhere, have their day of visitation, and that a ray from the Sun of righteousness enters every dark heart of the rational children of God. And where *the ray is, there is the Sun.* Where the *influence of the Spirit is, even in its smallest measure, there is Christ.* By it he is conveyed to the mind, by *it he dwells there.* From the emanations of his own light, life, and power, he can never be separated. And further — where Christ is by his Spirit, there are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost — one God blessed forever."

These views are truly in accordance with the doctrines of Friends; but the same author thus continues: "But to say that this ray is itself the Sun — that this divine principle or influence is itself the Christ, to allege that Jesus was divine, only because this influence dwelt in the temple of his body, even as it dwells in the righteous of all generations; to apply to it the common terms of an orthodox faith, — to call it the Son of God, the Saviour, Immanuel, God with us, the Son and sent of the Father — the Lamb of God, — to ascribe to it the attributes and offices of the Messiah, — is a practice, as I believe, utterly opposed to the testimony of Scripture, and fraught with the deepest danger to the souls of men."[1]

To the unsophisticated mind the following query will probably present itself. As it is acknowledged that Christ dwells by his Spirit "in the souls of his believing children," — and "where Christ is by his

[1] Letter to "The Followers of Elias Hicks" in Balt., p. 17.

Spirit, there is the Father and the Son," — whence is the danger of calling him the Son — or the Lamb of God?

George Fox says: "Here you may see what men get by their outward knowledge; for when Adam and Eve fed upon the tree of knowledge, then the *Lamb was slain in them* from the foundation of the world. And when the Lamb Christ was manifest in the flesh, they that were in this outward brutish knowledge and wisdom below, crucified Christ outwardly without the gates of Jerusalem. And after, when Christianity was spread up and down in the world, and many got an outward form of Christianity and denied the power and got into this brutish outward knowledge and wisdom below, they crucified to themselves Christ afresh, as in *Hebrews* vi. 6."[1] The Apostle Paul writes, "It pleased God to reveal *his Son in me.*" *Gal.* i. 10. "Christ liveth in me." *Gal.* xi. 20. "God sent the spirit of his son into your hearts." *Gal.* iv. 6. And John declares, "He that hath the son hath life, and he that hath not the son of God hath not life." 1 *John* v. 12.

William Penn, in his "Christian Quaker," writes concerning "the *Light of Christ within;* the great *principle of God in man*, the root and spring of divine life and knowledge in the soul; that by which salvation is effected for man, and which is the characteristic of the people called Quakers, their faith and testimony to the world." And in his "Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," he speaks of "their fundamental principle, which is the corner-stone of

[1] Works of G. Fox, Am. ed. 1831, Vol. VI. p. 448.

their fabric,"—"the *light of Christ within as God's gift for* man's salvation."

This doctrine of the early Friends is thus controverted by Joseph John Gurney: "The misinterpretation which I wish to notice, is that of certain writers who appear to suppose that because Christ is called the light (*i. e.* the enlightener), he is therefore to be identified with the influence which he bestows; in short, that the light of the Spirit of God in the heart of man is itself actually Christ. The obvious tendency of this mistake is to deprive the Saviour of his personal attributes, and to reduce him to the rank of a *principle.*" Yet Gurney has himself asserted, that "Where the *influence of the Spirit is, even in its smallest measure, there is Christ.*"

A favorite text of the early Friends was that passage of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, (chap. i. v. 27,) where he speaks of "this mystery among the Gentiles, which is *Christ in you* the hope of glory." Joseph John Gurney refers to it as follows: "The words, 'Christ in you,' are often recited by mistake as '*Christ within*,' and these expressions are sometimes used amongst us as a synonym for the light of the spirit of Christ in the heart, a view which *some have imagined* to be supported by the apostle's treating the whole subject as a 'mystery.' Hence it necessarily follows that the light of the spirit of Christ in the heart is the same as *Christ* himself, and is represented as the hope of glory. The plain fact, however, appears to be that the mystery of which the apostle is speaking, is that of the incarnation of the Son of God, a subject which had been typically shadowed forth to the Jews, but had been totally concealed from the Gentiles, kept secret since the world began, but was now made

known to the saints, and without controversy great is the mystery of godliness."[1]

The application of the term *principle* to the seed or life of God in the soul, appears to have been particularly objectionable to Joseph John Gurney, as shown by the passages already quoted. In another passage addressed to those Friends in Baltimore, whom he improperly calls the followers of Elias Hicks, he alludes to the early Friends, and says: "Alas that any of their descendants should have forsaken the Rock of their salvation, and should have reduced the Saviour of men, in their estimation to the rank of a mere *principle or influence!*"[2] Yet, strange as it may appear, the learned author has himself made a similar application of the term, as shown by the following quotations: "Since it is only through the influence of the Holy Spirit, that men are converted and sanctified, and since the work of conversion and sanctification is plainly attributed to the power of the Son, as well as to that of the Father, it can be no matter of surprise that the *Holy Spirit*, which is usually described as the spirit of God, is also called the *spirit of Christ.*"

"There is provided for us in the economy of the grace of God, an invisible, intangible, though not always imperceptible, *influence*, an illuminating quickening *principle*, by which degenerate man is born a second time, morally changed — introduced to a new condition of life, and gradually restored to the image of his Creator."[3]

"Having thus examined the evidences of Scripture

[1] Brief Remarks on the Interpretation of Scripture, pp. 9, 10.
[2] Letter to the Followers of E. Hicks, Balt, 1840, p. 17.
[3] Essays, p. 445.

respecting the nature and origin of the *regenerating principle*, and having ascertained the channel through which alone it is derived to mankind, we may now direct our remarks to the Holy Spirit in his divine and *personal* character."[1] * * * * *

It will be observed that in these passages he truly represents the Holy Spirit to be the same as the Spirit of Christ; this Spirit he calls an invisible *influence*,—a quickening *principle*,—a regenerating *principle*,—and then he proceeds to speak of his personal character.

Notwithstanding the unprofitable speculations which he borrowed from the schools of theology, it appears that in seasons of devotion he was favored to obtain a clearer and more sublime view of the Divine nature. Thus he writes: "While the Christian rejoices in the distinct characters and offices of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, so graciously revealed to us for our instruction and edification, he probably never finds his soul bowed down with so deep a reverence, or filled with so pure a delight, as when he contemplates the Almighty as an ineffable glory—an incommunicable name—an infinite and incomprehensible Unity."[2]

SALVATION BY CHRIST.

§ 5. The doctrine of salvation by Christ, as held by the early Friends, has been exhibited in the *fifth* chapter of this treatise, and may be recapitulated as follows:

1. They rejected the doctrines of imputative right-

[1] Essays, p. 457.

[2] A Declaration of Faith, p. 23

eousness and vicarious satisfaction, *as held by Trinitarians*, § 5 and 6.

2. They held the Scriptural doctrine, that Christ died for all men, (2 *Cor.* v. 14, 15,)—not however to appease the wrath of God, nor to satisfy his justice by suffering as a *substitute* for the guilty;—but "to bear witness to the truth," (*John* xviii. 37,) "leaving us an example that we should follow his steps;" (1 *Pet.* ii. 21;) and as an evidence of his love; "for greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." (*John* xv. 13.) They believed, moreover, that through the obedience and sufferings of Christ he procured for his Church divine favors and spiritual gifts. (*Acts* ii. 33.) "Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his Father's will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice; but not to pay God, or help him as otherwise being unable to save man."[1] "As it was the main design of Christ's life, doctrines, and miracles, to call men to repentance, faith, and obedience, so it was also the *great end of his sufferings* to accomplish the same glorious design."[2] § 6.

3. The doctrine of Reconciliation as taught in the writings of the early Friends,—is a *change wrought in man*, taking away his enmity, and "causing him to grow up in that nature and life which God loveth." § 7

4. They taught that man "must be washed and sanctified before he can be justified;" the same that sanctifies him justifies him, *i. e.*, "in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God." (1 *Cor.*

[1] Penn's Select Works, p. 22. [2] Life of R. Claridge, 445.

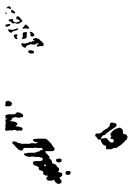
being *made just*, respecting the nature and ori[gin] § 8. *principle*, and having ascert[ained] ne blood of the New which alone it is derive[d] Jesus, who saith, 'ex- direct our remarks to [dr]ink my blood ye have no and *personal* characte[r] od is known and felt within,

It will be observ[ed] conscience, for Christ as he is represents the P[ower] out his blood *which is spiritual*."[1] Spirit of Chris[t] by the "blood" of the Son of God,— *fluence*,—a [power] by his power, by his nature sown in the *principle*,— [and] transforming the vessel into its own like- sonal ch[aracter].

Not[e] [that] taught that God "hath so loved the world he h[ath] hath given his only Son (a Light) that who- th[so]ever believeth on him should be saved." * * * * "As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those blessed fruits which are acceptable to God: by which holy birth, to wit, *Jesus Christ formed within us*, and working his works in us, as we are sanctified, so we are justified in the sight of God."[5]

This innocent, lamb-like nature being oppressed with evil and grieved with iniquity, has been referred to, metaphorically, as "a lamb slain from the foundation of the world."[6] § 10. And those who "fall away," after having "tasted the good word of God," are said to "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." (*Heb.* vi. 6.)

[1] Barclay's Apology, Prop. VII. § 7. [2] G. Fox, Works, V. 363–4.
[3] Barclay's Works, p. 10. [4] I. Pennington, I. 610.
[5] Barclay's Apology, Prop. V. and VII.
[6] Penn's Select Works, pp. 262–266.



ist Jesus," writes Geo. Fox, "tasted death
, and shed his blood for all men, and is
for our sins, and not for ours only,
s of the whole world." According
ist testified of him when he said,
amb of God that taketh away the sins
id." * * * * "He it is that is now come
th given us an understanding, that we may
ow him that is true, and he rules in our hearts by his law of love and life." &c.[1] * * * *

Joseph John Gurney held the doctrines of imputative righteousness and vicarious satisfaction, as the following extracts will show, viz.: "Such was the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ; and such is the righteousness which through faith is *imputed to the Christian.* A very slight degree of reflection on the divine nature and infinite dignity of the Son of God, as well as on the perfections of his human character, may serve to convince us that as, on the one hand, he was, on account of his spotless innocence, entirely suited to be a sacrifice for sin; so on the other hand his fulfilment of the whole moral law, and more especially his obedience unto death, were infinitely meritorious in the sight of God the Father. When, therefore, we read that the righteousness of Jesus Christ *is imputed to the believer*, we may reasonably understand such a doctrine to import that we are not only saved through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, but rewarded through his merits. *Our sinfulness* may properly be said to be *imputed to Christ*, because when he *underwent the penalty* which that sinfulness demanded, he *was dealt with as if he had been*

[1] G. Fox' Letter to Gov. of Barbadoes.

himself the sinner; and it is, I apprehend, on a perfectly analogous principle that his righteousness is said to *be imputed to us;* because through the boundless mercy of God, we are permitted to reap the fruits of it. We are regarded as if, like him, we were absolutely guiltless, and are therefore delivered from everlasting punishment. We are graciously accepted, as if like him we had meritoriously fulfilled the whole law of God, and are *therefore* rewarded with never-ending felicity. Thus it is, that, in consequence of *his union through faith* with Jesus, the Head of the Church, the Christian is not only protected from the pains of hell, but is in possession of a well-grounded *claim* on the joys of heaven."[1]

It will be observed that in this passage, the salvation and eternal felicity of the soul are made to depend, not on its moral fitness or spiritual condition, but on the belief that the punishment due to sin has been inflicted on a substitute, and that the righteousness of that substitute is imputed to the believer.

This doctrine is also avowed in the following quotations, viz.: "The Christian's hope of deliverance from eternal death is founded on the glorious doctrine, that a ransom has been offered for his soul, by a Saviour of infinite dignity and power; and he anticipates the boon of everlasting felicity, not as the reward of his *own polluted works*, but as the just and necessary consequence of a *righteousness imputed* to the believer, the perfect righteousness of Him who is not only man but God."[2]

"Behold the glorious partner of the Father's throne freely opening his bosom to the *vials of his*

[1] Essays on Christianity, 437.
[2] Biblical Notes, 363.

wrath, groaning and bleeding on the cross in the nature of man, and bearing in his own body on the tree the penalty of the sins of mankind." * * * * "Let us call to mind, that in that hour of unutterable desertion the righteous vengeance of God against a guilty world was poured forth upon the innocent *substitute*."[1]

Here again, justice towards J. J. Gurney requires the exhibition of sentiments from another of his works, not consistent with the last two quotations, but far more satisfactory, viz.: "There is nothing in Scripture which in the least degree supports the notion that our Heavenly Father is naturally implacable, and that his wrath was appeased by the Sacrifice of an innocent victim. While the prevalence of bloody sacrifices among the heathen nations in all ages of the world plainly indicates the feeling that without an atonement there is no forgiveness of sin, and while it affords an evidence of some original revelation on the subject, the *vulgar notion* that a wrathful deity is by this method *rendered placable* receives no countenance from Christianity."[2]

Yet, in still another of his works, he speaks of "those who know that God is *their reconciled Father*, and that Jesus has bought them with the precious price of his own blood;"[3] which seems to imply that the Father required the shedding of that blood in order to reconcile him to man; whereas the true

[1] Essay on Love to God, English ed. pp. 40, 45, quoted in Appeal for Ancient Doctrines of Friends, Phila. 1847, by Orthodox Yearly Meeting. The two passages here quoted are omitted in an American edition.

[2] Portable Evidence of Christianity, 154.

[3] Essays on Christianity, 465.

Scriptural doctrine is, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." The change by which reconciliation is effected, must be wrought in man; there can be no change in the Deity.

"Jesus Christ," writes J. J. Gurney, "was a *vicarious sufferer*, because his death on the cross was graciously undergone by him, and as graciously accepted by the Father, *in the place of that everlasting death* to which all men would otherwise have been exposed as the certain punishment and legitimate consequence of sin."

Again he writes, of the sufferings of Christ being "ordained by the Father himself, as *the means* through which in his own infinite knowledge and wisdom, he saw fit to provide for the *satisfaction of his justice*, and at the same time for the pardon and restoration of a lost and sinful race of his creatures."[1]

William Penn writes as follows, concerning "The absurdities that unavoidably follow the comparison of this doctrine with the sense of scripture."

"1. That God is gracious to forgive, and yet 'tis impossible for him, unless the debt be fully satisfied.

"2. That the finite and impotent creature is more capable of extending mercy and forgiveness than the infinite and omnipotent creator.

"3. That God so loved the world he gave his only Son to save it; and yet that God stood off in high displeasure, and Christ gave himself to God as a complete satisfaction to his offended justice: with many more such like gross consequences that might be drawn."[2]

[1] Essays on Christianity, pp. 423, 427.

[2] Sandy Foundation Shaken, Select Works, p. 16.

Concerning Justification and Sanctification, J. J. Gurney writes as follows: "From these premises it follows, that, in the order of the grace of God, *justification precedes sanctification*, and that faith in Jesus Christ, by which the ungodly are justified, has respect in a very pre-eminent manner to the *atonement* which has been made for the sins of the world." * * * * "While however the justification of the sinner through faith in a crucified Redeemer *precedes* the work of sanctification, its close and inseparable connection with that work is evinced by the fact, that in the economy of God's spiritual government, this very faith is the constituted means through which we obtain the gift of the Holy Spirit."[1]

Again he says: "Man by nature is a child of wrath, laboring under the curse of the law — the awful sentence of eternal death. What then can be conceived more adapted to this need than *justification* — a plenary remission of all his sins through the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and a free acceptance of him as righteous, for the sake of a righteous Saviour? Here he finds reconciliation with a God of Justice, deliverance from condemnation and eternal punishment, and a well-founded hope of immortal bliss. The utmost claims of the law are satisfied; the holiness of the Creator is more than ever manifested; and the broken-hearted sinner reposes in peace, on the bosom of infinite mercy. In himself, indeed, as a transgressor from his birth, *he is vile and polluted*, but by the blood of Jesus sprinkled on his heart, his conscience is purged from every dead work, and having obtained an interest in the Saviour of men,

[1] Essays on Christianity, p. 505.

he wears a robe of righteousness in which there is no spot."[1]

From this it appears, that he, who is *in himself vile and polluted*, may nevertheless wear a robe of righteousness; but Geo. Fox writes: "So far as a man is sanctified, so far as he is justified and no farther."[2]

And Barclay says: "The manner and way whereby his [Christ's] righteousness and obedience, death and sufferings *without*, become profitable unto us, and *made ours*, is by receiving him and becoming one with him in our hearts, embracing and entertaining that *holy seed*, which as it is embraced and entertained, becometh *a holy birth in us*, which in Scripture is called, *Christ formed within;* Christ within the hope of glory. *Gal.* iv. 19; *Coloss.* i. 27."[3]

Joseph John Gurney, commenting on the discourse of our Saviour, concerning eating his flesh and drinking his blood, (*John* vi. 31–32 and 47–48,) says: "Hence it follows that the bread which Christ gives to eat is his flesh which he offered upon the cross for the sins of the whole world. As eating the bread of life is identical with believing in Christ, the incarnate Son of God, so eating his flesh is identical with such a belief in him as is especially directed to his atoning sacrifice. Our Lord's meaning becomes yet more indisputable when he pursues his use of this expressive figure, and adds to the eating of his flesh the drinking of his blood: 'Verily I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. He that eateth my

[1] Portable Evidence, Phila., 1856, pp. 163, 164.

[2] Works of George Fox, III. 450.

[3] Truth cleared of Calumnies, Barclay's Works, p. 19.

flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him,' ver. 53 to 56. That the flesh and blood of Christ are here spoken of in relation to his incarnation and atoning Sacrifice, is made abundantly clear by the comparison of all the other passages in the New Testament, and especially in the writings of this apostle, in which mention is made of that flesh or of that blood. These passages are numerous, and on a careful examination of them, it will be found that the flesh always means his human body — that body which was born, died, and rose again—and that his blood always means his very blood, — which was his natural life, and which was naturally shed on the cross for the remission of sins."[1] "*Those only* can be truly said to 'eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood,' whose whole reliance for salvation is placed upon him, *as the sacrifice for sin;* and these are they who receive 'the Spirit that quickeneth' — who dwell in Christ and know Christ to dwell in them — who through the Spirit are made alive unto God in this world, and therefore live forever in the world to come." *John* vi. 53–63.[2]

If spiritual life depends upon eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, — and *those only can partake of it whose whole reliance is placed upon him as the sacrifice for sin,* — what becomes of those who have never heard of that sacrifice? Yet Joseph John Gurney admits that even these, when they believe in and obey the Light, are "partakers in their measure

[1] Brief Remarks on Interpretation of Scripture, pp. 13, 14.
[2] Essays on Christianity, 506.

and according to their capacity in the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[1]

How much more simple and consistent is the doctrine of the early Friends on this point as expressed by Barclay: "The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells."

"The *body* then of Christ which believers partake of is *spiritual* and not carnal, and his *blood* which they drink of is *pure* and *heavenly* and not human or elementary, as Augustine also affirms of the body of Christ; Tractat. *Psalm* xcviii."[2]

The early Friends believed that Jesus Christ the head of the church, and the saints his members, in their heavenly state, are not in carnal but in spiritual bodies. Joseph John Gurney writes as follows: "He [man] has within him a never-dying spirit; and *even that part of him* which is destined to moulder in the grave, shall in the end be found *the seed of a spiritual body*, and shall be clothed with incorruption and immortality." "The man who sleeps in the dust of the earth shall be quickened—shall be raised from a state of death—shall stand alive before the judgment-seat of the Almighty."[3] "Now it is in *revealed religion*, and there only, that blind and erring man receives an illumination exactly proportioned to the depths and completeness of his ignorance." * * * * "There he is taught the lesson of the immortality of the soul, of the *resurrection of the body* and of judg-

[1] J. J. G's. Declaration, quoted in § 1 of this chapter.
[2] Apology XIII. § 2. [3] Essays on Christianity, pp. 193, 187.

ment to come." "As it relates to the faithful followers of Christ, the *resurrection of the body* clearly forms a part of the scheme of redemption."[1]

Wm. Penn, in reply to the Bishop of Cork, says: "We have indeed been negative to the gross conceit of people concerning the rising of this carnal body we carry about us, which better agrees with the Alcoran of Mahomet, than the gospel of Christ. But that there is a resurrection of the just and unjust, to rewards and punishments, we have ever believed. And indeed, we cannot but wonder that any should be displeased with us, for being pleased with that which God is pleased to give us. Bodies we shall have, but *not the same*, says the Apostle, and so believes the Quaker."[2]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOCTRINES OF ELIAS HICKS.

In America, the Society of Friends, during the first quarter of this century, generally held the views inculcated by Fox, Penn, Pennington, and Barclay, and were accustomed, in their ministry, to lay great stress on the Grace of God, or Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul, as the efficient cause of salvation. It is believed that the ministry and writings of Job Scott had much influence in promoting this spiritual view of Christianity; and Elias Hicks, who began his ministry about the year 1775, had long been a distin-

[1] Portable Evidence, pp. 160, 179. [2] Penn's Select Works, 827.

guished advocate of the same doctrine. He had travelled much as a minister of the gospel, and for more than forty years his services had been highly esteemed throughout the Society, there being then little or no opposition to his religious views. "In declaring what he believed to be the counsel of God, he was bold and fearless, and his ministry, though unadorned with the embellishments of human learning, was clear and powerful. In argument he was strong and convincing, and his appeals to the experience and convictions of his hearers were striking and appropriate."[1] In private life he was a bright example of the Christian virtues; a peace-maker, a friend to the poor, and especially concerned to bear an uncompromising testimony against the enslavement and oppression of the African race.

The doctrinal views of Elias Hicks have been diversely understood or construed by different individuals according to the point of view from which they were contemplated. By his adversaries he was charged with holding and promulgating doctrines at variance with the fundamental principles of Christianity; while on the other hand his friends maintained, that his views were generally in accordance with the Scriptures of Truth, and with the writings of the early Friends.

A fair and candid investigation of this subject requires a thorough examination of his writings and acknowledged discourses; and in making selections to illustrate his views, a due regard will be had to the context, and to the general scope of his remarks.

[1] Testimony of Jericho Monthly Meeting of Friends.

IMMEDIATE REVELATION.

§ 1. It has been shown in Chapter I., sections 9 and 0, that according to the writings of the early Friends ıere is "an evangelical principle of light and life, 'herewith Christ hath enlightened every man that ɔmeth into the world."[1]

On this point, Elias Hicks writes as follows: "God ı a Spirit, invisible and incomprehensible to every ıing but spirit, agreeably to the doctrine and conlusive argument of the Apostle Paul, 'What man noweth the things of a man save the spirit of man 'hich is in him? even so, the things of God knoweth o man, but the Spirit of God;' and again, 'the atural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of lod, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can e know them, because they are spiritually,' and nly spiritually, 'discerned.' It therefore necessarily ɔllows that man, with all the wisdom he can acquire, ided by human science, however elaborately studied, nd with the further assistance of all the books and ritings in the world, if void of *immediate divine :velation*, never has known, nor ever can know God, ı relation either to his essence, or those excellent ttributes which are in correspondence and unison ith his pure, holy, and unchangeable nature; for ıat which may be known of God is manifest within ıan,[2] and that not by his reasoning powers, but by ıe immediate impression and unpremeditated senıtions which the immortal spirit of man feels and ɔes, by being brought into contact with and under ıe certain and self-evident influence of the Spirit of

[1] Barclay's Apology, Prop. VI. [2] Rom. i 19.

God upon it. And hence a man is enabled to attribute to God his due only from sensible and self-evident experience."[1]

"Hence the necessity of every individual rallying to the standard, the light within, for in that only can we as a people unite our strength; that being our only standard principle from the beginning; and if we desert that or add anything to it, as essential, besides good works, we shall become a broken and divided people, and must remain so until all recur to this first principle as our only rule of faith and practice; and prove by our fruits that we are led and guided by it, that is, by our just and righteous works, doing unto all others as we would that others should do unto us."[2]

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 2. The views of the early Friends in relation to the Scriptures have been exhibited in Chapter II. of this treatise. They believed in the authenticity and divine authority of the sacred writings, and expressed a willingness that "all their doctrines and practices should be tried by them." Nevertheless, "because they are only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners." They are "a secondary rule, subordinate to the spirit from which they have all their excellency and certainty."[3]

Elias Hicks writes as follows: "As to the Scriptures of Truth, as recorded in the book called the

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, New York, 1834, p. 25. [2] Ibid. p. 186.
[3] Barclay's Apology. Prop. III.

Bible, I have ever believed that all parts of them that could not be known but by revelation, were written by holy men as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and could not be known through any other medium, and they are profitable for our encouragement, comfort and instruction, in the very way that the apostle testifies; and I have always accounted them, when rightly understood, as the best of books extant. I have always delighted in reading them, in my serious moments, in preference to any other book, from my youth up, and have made more use of their contents to confirm and establish my ministerial labors in the gospel than most other ministers that I am acquainted with. But at the same time, I prize *that from whence they have derived their origin*, much higher than I do them; as 'that for which a thing is such, the thing itself is more such.' And no man, I conceive, can know and rightly profit by them, but by the opening of the same *inspiring spirit by which they were written;* and I apprehend I have read them as much as most other men, and few, I believe, have derived more profit from them than I have."[1]

In another letter he says: "As respects the Scriptures of Truth, I have highly esteemed them from my youth up, have always given them the preference to any other book, and have read them abundantly more than any other book, and I would recommend all to the serious and diligent perusal of them. And I apprehend I have received as much comfort and instruction from them as any other man. Indeed they have instructed me home to the sure unchangeable foundation — the light within, or spirit of truth, the

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, p. 215.

only gospel foundation that leads and guides into all truth, and thereby completes man's salvation, which nothing else ever has, or ever can do. But why need I say these things, as all men know that have heard me, that I confirm my doctrine abundantly from their testimony: and I have always endeavored sincerely to place them in their true place and station, but never dare exalt them above what they themselves declare; and as no spring can rise higher than its fountain, so likewise the Scriptures can only direct to the *fountain from whence they originated—the spirit of truth:* as saith the apostle, 'The things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;' therefore when the Scriptures have directed and pointed us to this light within, or Spirit of Truth, there they must stop —it is their ultimatum — the top stone of what they can do. And no other external testimony of men or books can do any more. And Jesus, in his last charge to his disciples, in order to prevent them from looking without for instruction in the things of God, after he had led them up to the highest pinnacle that any outward evidence could effect, certified them that this light within, or spirit of truth, by which only their salvation could be effected, dwelt with them and should be in them. And this every Christian knows to be a truth; and there never was a real Christian made by any other power than this spirit of truth; and everything that can be done by man without it, must fail of effecting his salvation."[1]

These passages, written in the year 1829, may be considered as expressing the settled opinions of Elias Hicks in the last year of his life. It is much to be

[1] Answer to Six Queries, Letters of E. Hicks, p. 227.

regretted that in some letters of an earlier date, written apparently without due consideration, and in the confidence of friendship, (which proved to be misplaced,) he expressed sentiments apparently at variance with those above quoted.

In a letter to Phebe Willis, dated 5th mo. 19th, 1818, and first published by his opponents without his consent, the following passages are found: "Among other subjects I have been led, I trust carefully and candidly, to investigate the effect produced by the book called the Scriptures since it has borne that appellation; and it appears from a comparative view, to have been the cause of fourfold more harm than good to Christendom, since the apostles' days, and which I think must be indubitably plain to every faithful honest mind that has investigated her history free from the undue bias of education and tradition. Mark the beginning of the apostasy. When the professors of Christianity began to quarrel with and separate from each other, it all sprung from their different views and different interpretations of passages of Scripture; and to such a pitch did their quarrels arise, as that a recourse to the sword was soon deemed necessary to settle those disputes. And the strongest party in that line finding, that as long as the people were at liberty, and had the privilege of searching the Scriptures and putting their own interpretations upon them, and making them their rule, diversity of opinion and differences would increase, this led the strongest party to that disagreeable and unchristian alternative of wresting them out of their hands, and forbidding their being read by the people at large. And this state of things continued for many years, until the beginning of the Reformation by Martin Luther. It

will be now necessary to consider whether the Scriptures were in any wise accessory to this infant beginning of reformation? I think it is clear they were not; but as Luther and his adherents gained strength, they began to shake off the yoke of papal oppression, and among other things, the restriction on the Scriptures was taken off, and every citizen that joined Luther's party had the privilege of reading the Scriptures at his pleasure. And what was the result? A diversity of sentiment respecting what they taught, which soon set the reformers one against another and produced such divisions and animosities among them that recourse was again had to the sword to settle disputes. In this condition things continued until Geo. Fox was raised up to bear testimony to the light and spirit of truth in the hearts and consciences of men and women as the only sure rule of faith and practice, both in relation to religious and moral things, and which was complete and sufficient without the aid of books or men, as his doctrine and example clearly evinces, as his reformation was begun and carried on without the necessary aid of either." * * * * "What I have written has been done in scraps of time that I have, as it were, stolen from my other many avocations, without any time to copy it, or *give it much examination;* therefore I hope thou wilt excuse the improprieties that may have escaped my notice, believing that thou wilt be able to apprehend the main drift of the arguments, and be *willing to put the best construction* on such parts as may, to thee, appear erroneous."[1]

In considering this ill-digested letter, the query naturally arises: If the Scriptures "have been the

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 43–50.

cause of fourfold more harm than good to Christendom," why was the "forbidding their being read by the people at large," an "unchristian" act. The remark in relation to the Protestant Reformation, that the Scriptures were not "in any wise accessory" to its beginning, is also founded in mistake; for it appears that the New Testament was, through divine grace, made instrumental to enlighten the mind of Luther and discover to him the errors of Romanism. As to George Fox, we know that the Bible was his constant companion; his writings are replete with Scripture texts, and probably no other teacher ever referred more constantly to the sacred volume. It was "his frequent advice to Friends, to keep to Scripture language, terms, words, and doctrines, as taught by the Holy Ghost, in matters of faith, religion, controversy, and conversation, and not to be imposed upon and drawn into unscriptural terms, invented by men in their human wisdom."[1]

Justice towards Elias Hicks requires that we should give due weight to the extenuating circumstances that attended the writing and publication of his letters to Phebe Willis, whom he regarded as a cordial friend. If he erred in writing them, how much more blameworthy were they, who gave them publicity without his consent!

He stated his views more explicitly in a letter to Moses Brown, dated 3d mo. 30th, 1825, as the following passage will show, viz.: "As to what thou sayest of my contradicting myself, by saying at one time, that the Scriptures were the best book, and at another time, that it does more hurt than good; if this is, to thee, a paradox, it is one, I conceive, thy own com-

[1] Works of G. F., IV. 3.

mon sense and every day's observation would easily solve. For it is my candid belief, that those that hold and believe the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice, to these it does much more hurt than good. And has anything tended more to divide Christendom into sects and parties than the Scriptures? and by which so many cruel and bloody wars have been promulgated [promoted]. And yet at the same time, may it not be one of the best books, if rightly used under the guidance of the Holy Spirit? But, if abused, like every other blessing, it becomes a curse. Therefore to these it always does more hurt than good; and thou knowest that these comprehend far the greatest part of Christendom."[1]

There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that a vast amount of good has been derived from the proper use of the Scriptures: if evil has resulted from their abuse, it is no more than may be said of other precious gifts received from a bountiful Creator.

A number of passages extracted from the printed sermons of Elias Hicks, have been published and circulated by his adversaries, most of which, being separated from the context, give an erroneous view of his religious opinions. Some of these extracts relating to the Scriptures are here subjoined, together with a portion of the context. The sentences extracted by his opponents are included in brackets,[2] viz.:—

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 174–5.

[2] These extracts may be found in "A Declaration," &c., published by order of the Yearly Meeting of "Orthodox Friends," held in Phila., in the year 1828. For a refutation of the charges contained in that Declaration, see a Review by Wm. Gibbons, published by T. E. Chapman, Philadelphia, 1847.

"We find, that although these things are so plainly written in the book which we call the Bible, yet we feel and know certainly that there is *no power in it* to enable us to *put in practice* what is therein written. [One would suppose that, to a rational mind, the hearing and reading of the instructive parables of Jesus would have a *tendency* to reform, and turn men about to truth, and lead them on in it. *But they have no such effect.*]" In the following paragraph he says: "We may read of this; but has the letter ever turned any one to the right thing, *unless the light opening it to the understanding* has helped him *to put in practice* what the letter dictates?"

The meaning intended to be conveyed by the speaker is evidently the same as thus expressed by Isaac Pennington: "Life cannot be received from the Scriptures, but only from Christ the fountain thereof; no more can the Scriptures give the rule, but point to the fountain of the same life, where alone the rule of life, as the life itself, can be received. The Scriptures cannot ingraft into Christ nor give a living rule to him that is ingrafted; but he that hath heard the testimony of the Scriptures concerning Christ, and hath come to him, must abide in him and wait on him for the writing of the law of the Spirit of life in his heart, and this will be his rule from the law of sin and death, even unto the land of life."[1]

Another garbled quotation from the Sermons of Elias Hicks, when united with a portion of the context, reads as follows:—

"O that the spirit that dwelt in David might dwell

[1] Works of I. Pennington, London, 1761, Vol. I. p. 268,

in us; that, from a sense of our impotence and weakness, our prayers might ascend like his; 'Lord show me my secret faults.' And what are these faults that are so various and so many? Why, some are led away to the worship of images by being deceived and turned aside by tradition and books; they worship other gods beside the true God. [They have been so bound up in the letter, that they think they must attend to it to the exclusion of everything else. Here is an abominable idol worship of a thing without any life at all, — a dead monument!] Oh! that our minds might be enlightened, — that our hearts might be opened, — that we might know the difference between thing and thing. Most of the worship in Christendom is idolatry, dark and blind idolatry; for all *outward worship* is so, — it is a mere worship of images. For if we make an image merely in imagination, it is an idol."—*Phila. Sermons*, pp. 129, 130.

In this passage the censure intended to be conveyed was not against the use, but the abuse of the Scriptures. The same idea is expressed in the following quotation from Pennington. "They run to the Scriptures with that understanding which is out of the truth, and which never shall be let into the truth; and so being not able to reach and comprehend the truth as it is, they study, they invent, they imagine a meaning; they form a likeness, a similitude of the truth as near as they can, and this must go for the truth; and this they honor and bow before as the will of God; which being not the will of God, but a likeness of their own inventing and forming, they worship not God, they honor not the Scriptures, but they honor and worship the work of their own brain.

And every scripture which man hath thus formed a meaning out of, and hath not read in the true and living light of God's eternal Spirit, he hath made an image by, he hath made an idol of; and the respect and honor he gives this meaning is not a respect and honor given to God, but to his own image, to his own idol."[1]

The following passage from a sermon of Elias Hicks has been selected by his opponents to show that he and his friends assert "that the direction of our Lord to search the Scriptures is not correct," viz.: "Now the book we read in says, 'Search the Scriptures.' But this is incorrect; we must all see it is incorrect; because we have all reason to believe they read the Scriptures, and hence they accused Jesus of being an impostor."[2] The remainder of the paragraph was withheld; it reads as follows: "They were more intent upon reading the Scriptures than any other people under heaven. They read them, thinking that through them they should become wise by the letter."

The learned Adam Clark affirms, that the text here referred to should be translated, "Ye search the Scriptures diligently;" and adds: "Perhaps the Scriptures were never more diligently searched than at that very time."

Barclay says: "That place may be taken in the indicative mood, 'Ye search the Scriptures;' which interpretation the Greek word will bear; and so Pasor translateth it: which, by the reproof following, seemeth also to be the *more genuine interpretation;* as Cyrillus long ago hath observed."[3]

[1] I. Pennington's Works, I. 13.
[2] Phila. Sermon, p. 314.
[3] Apology, Prop. III. § 7.

THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN.

§ 3. By reference to the third chapter of this treatise, it will be seen that the commonly received doctrine of original sin was not held by the early Friends.

In accordance with their views, Elias Hicks writes as follows: "As to the doctrine of original sin, according to the acceptation of some professors of Christianity, that we are under the curse for the transgression of our first parents, I abhor the idea, as it casts a great indignity on the divine character to think that a gracious and merciful God should condemn us for an act that was wholly out of our power to avoid! I consider it very little short, if any, of blasphemy against God. For I have never felt myself under condemnation for any sin but my own, neither have I felt any justification for any righteousness but what has been wrought in me by the grace of God: believing with the apostle, that "by grace we are saved through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works lest any man should boast;" that is, not any works of our own, "for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." [1]

In a sermon, at Pine Street Meeting, Philadelphia, Elias Hicks is reported to have spoken as follows, viz.: "He [the Most High] gives us the grace of repentance, and enables us so to walk as to be reconciled to him, and gain a greater establishment in himself, and in the truth, than when we first came

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, p. 213.

out of his creating hands. For although man was made pure and without defilement, — for He declares that all that he made 'was very good,' — yet man had no virtue, for he had no knowledge: we bring no true knowledge into the world with us. But God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, saw that the only way in which man could rise and be a communicant with Him, was to place him in a state of probation, and furnish him with means whereby he might go on in the warfare that this state of probation opened in his soul. For having endued his creature man with propensities both of body and mind, these propensities tempted him to turn aside from the will of his Creator. Here was immediately a warfare begun — God was on one side, and everything good was united with him and in him. The creature — the rational creature, as it was united to the animal body, was of the earth and therefore earthy. As the apostle says: 'The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man,' that is the birth of God in the soul, is spiritual. Every one that is born of God has this inward birth; as we read, 'that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.' And here now, this has been the experience of every rational soul under heaven: and it is the only medium whereby we can ever be united again to God. And if man had not fallen, as we come into the world without knowledge and capacity to do anything, though innocent: so we must know another birth — a birth of the immortal spirit, which is as invisible as God himself. We must come to witness a birth of the Spirit, a second birth, as Jesus de-

clared to Nicodemus, 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.'"[1]

ON THE DIVINE BEING.

§ 4. It has been shown in the fourth chapter of this treatise, that the early Friends rejected the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity, or distinct and separate personality of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and that they acknowledged the Divinity of Christ as taught in the Scriptures.[2]

In order to institute a comparison between their doctrines and those of Elias Hicks, the following selection has been made from his writings and reported discourses.

"The doctrine of the Trinity, as held by many professing Christians, I also consider a weak and vulgar error: that of three *distinct persons* in one God, and that each of these persons is whole God, as, I think, is inserted in some of the confessions of faith. As I believe there cannot be a greater absurdity than to apply *personality* to God, in any right sense of the word, as personality implies locality, which signifies limited to place, which would be very impious to say of the infinite Jehovah; it is also a doctrine unwarranted by Scripture, as the word Trinity is not to be found in the Bible; for although the apostle is made to say, agreeably to our present translation, that there are three that bear record in Heaven, yet he assures us that *these three are but one.*"[3]

The following extract from a Sermon delivered by

[1] The Quaker, I. 56.

[2] See, also, recapitulation in Chapter VII. Section 4.

[3] Letters of E. Hicks, p. 55.

Elias Hicks in Pine Street Meeting, Philadelphia, 12th month 10th, 1826, is one of the passages on which a charge against him of promulgating "anti-christian doctrines" was made by the ruling party in that meeting, and sent by a committee to his own monthly meeting, viz.:—

"I say, dearly beloved, my soul craves it for us, that we may sink down and examine ourselves; according to the declaration of the Apostle: 'Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves: know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?' Now we cannot suppose that the Apostle meant that outward man, that walked about the streets of Jerusalem; because he is not in any of us. But what is this Jesus Christ? He came to be a Saviour to that nation, and was limited to that nation. He came to gather up and look up the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But as he was a Saviour in the outward sense, so he was an outward shadow of good things to come; and so the work of the man Jesus Christ was a figure. He healed the sick of their outward calamities,—he cleansed the leprosy,—all of which was external and affected only their bodies,—as sickness don't affect the souls of the children of men, though they may labor under all these things. But as he was considered a saviour, he meant by what he said, a saviour is within you, the anointing of the Spirit of God is within you: for this made the ways of Jesus so wonderful in his day, that the Psalmist in his prophecy concerning him exclaims: 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.'

He had loved righteousness, you perceive, and therefore was prepared to receive the fulness of the Spirit, the fulness of the divine anointing; for there was no germ of evil in him or about him: both his soul and body were pure. He was anointed above all his fellows, to be *the head of the church*, the *top stone*, the *chief corner-stone*, elect and precious. And what was it that was a saviour? Not that which was outward; it was not flesh and blood: for 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven:' it must go to the earth from whence it was taken. It was that life, that same life that I have already mentioned, that was in him and which is the light and life of men, and which lighteth every man, and consequently every woman that cometh into the world. And we have this light and life in us; which is what the apostle meant by Jesus Christ; and if we have not this ruling in us, we are dead, because we are not under the law of the spirit of life. For the 'law is light, and the reproofs of instruction the way of life.'"

After Elias Hicks took his seat, Jonathan Evans, an elder of Pine Street Meeting, arose and declared that the Society of Friends believed in "the atonement, mediation, and intercession of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." "We believe him," said he, "to be King of kings and Lord of lords, before whose judgment-seat every soul shall be arraigned and judged by him. We do not conceive him to be a mere man; and we therefore desire that people may not suppose that we hold any such doctrines, or that we have any unity with them." Isaac Lloyd, another elder of the same meeting, said: "I unite with Jonathan Evans, — we never have believed that our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, came to the Jews

only, for he was given for God's salvation to the ends of the earth."[1]

Elias Hicks added, "I have spoken; and I leave it for the people to judge, — I don't assume the judgment-seat."

On this point Wm. Penn writes as follows: "The coming of Christ in that blessed manifestation [in the flesh] was to *the Jews only:* he says it himself, 'He was not sent but to the lost sheep of *the house of Israel.*' *Matt.* xv. 24. Again: 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not.' *John* i. 11."[2]

Isaac Pennington, on behalf of the Friends, writes: "Now they distinguish, according to the Scriptures, between that which is called *the Christ* and the bodily garment which he took. The one was flesh, the other spirit. 'The flesh profiteth nothing,' saith he; 'the Spirit quickeneth, and he that eateth me shall live by me, even as I live by the Father.' *John* vi. 57, 63. This is the manna, itself the true treasure; the other but the visible or earthen vessel which held it. The body of flesh was but the veil. *Heb.* x. 20. The eternal life was the substance veiled. The one he did partake of as the rest of the children did; the other was he which did partake thereof. *Heb.* ii. 14."

George Whitehead writes: "Christ, as God, his soul was increated. As man, *his soul or spirit was not the Deity*, but formed and assumed by the Word. The Word or Son of God who made the world, was not a creature, because he made all creatures."[3]

The following passages, from the letters of Elias

[1] The Quaker, I. 68, 72. [2] Ibid. W. Penn, Vol. V. p. 385.

[3] Antidote against the Venom of Snake in the Grass. London, 1697, p. 191.

Hicks to some of his intimate friends, disclose his sentiments in relation to the Divinity of Christ, his miraculous conception, miracles, resurrection and ascension, viz.: "Jesus Christ in his *outward manifestation* was more blest and abundantly more glorified than any other man, *and was above all*, and *therefore was the representative of God on earth*, visible to the external senses, although the power by which he did his mighty works was the invisible power of God, conferred upon him for that end, he being the instrument through whom God, by his power, wrought all those mighty works, that declared him to be the Son of God with power; but it was only the effects of the power, and not the power that was visible to the outward senses of his disciples and the people. Hence it was expedient that he should leave them as to his visible appearance, as nothing short of that could open the way for their reception of the Holy Spirit as a leader. And in another respect he stood in the place of God to that people, in raising their dead outwardly, and healing all their outward maladies, and forgiving those he healed of all their legal sins, by which he qualified them to enjoy all the privileges and good things of their outward Heaven [Canaan], and all the happiness it comprehended. In which he and his mighty works outwardly wrought were a complete figure of the work of God on the believing soul; raising it from the death of sin, healing it of all its spiritual maladies, and fitting it for the enjoyment of the divine presence, which is Heaven in the substance. And as he stood in the place of God outwardly to Israel, so he was likewise a real and true man, as the Scriptures abundantly assure us, being the son or offspring of Abraham and David after the flesh; born of an Israelitish virgin,

brought up and nursed by his parents, and was subject unto them until he arrived at the state of manhood; complying faithfully with all the requisitions and ordinances of the Jewish law, by which he justified his Heavenly Father in giving that law and those commandments; proving by his faithfully fulfilling all of them, that it was within the capacity and power of every Israelite to have done the same, had they faithfully improved the ability they had received for that end; and by which he condemned their unfaithfulness. And the last ritual was John's water baptism, by complying with which he fulfilled all the righteousness of the outward law and testament, and was then prepared for entering upon his mission by the more full effusion of the Holy Spirit, which descended upon him as soon as he had finished all the work of shadows relative to the law state, and which qualified him for his gospel mission, in which he went forth clothed with power from on high, preaching the glad tidings of peace and salvation; very few, however, understood or believed his doctrines, being so outward and worldly-minded. And when he had finished his ministration, in which he fulfilled the righteousness of both the law and the gospel, setting thereby an example to all his followers, — showing them that by faithfulness to the operations of the same spirit and power, *according to the measure received*, they might do the same; yea, he assured his immediate followers that even greater works than these which he had done, should they do. When he had thus finished his course, he surrendered himself to his enemies who crucified him, that is his outward body, which was all they could do. But when he gave up the ghost, his immortal spirit rose superior to all their malice, and

ascended immediately into Paradise. This ascension was not visible to the outward senses; his body was laid in the tomb, — and to complete the figure of our redemption, it was *raised again* outwardly; by which is typified the crucifixion of the old fallen man with all his deeds, which is affected by the cross of Christ, as saith the apostle: 'Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ,' that is, into the Spirit and power of God, 'were baptized into his death?' Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up, outwardly, 'from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should' be spiritually raised up to 'walk in newness of life.' And this outward ascension as it was manifest to the external senses of his disciples, must have been the outward man, as the immortal spirit of the Saviour never was, nor ever could be seen by outward eyes, — hence this outward ascension was a complete type of the inward or spiritual ascension of the immortal soul of man from an earthly to a heavenly state; by which it regains Paradise, and which must and will be regained by every redeemed soul on this side the grave."[1]

In another letter written by Elias Hicks, less than three years before his decease, he says: "Thy next query respecting the miraculous concepton, &c., is to me a very plain, simple thing. All the external miracles of the Jewish covenant had but one aim and end; and the miraculous conception of Jesus, and of Isaac and John the Baptist were among the greatest; all of which were intended to prove to that dark and ignorant people, debased by their bondage, that there was a living and invisible God; for such was their

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 75, 77.

degraded state that no other means seemed calculated to awaken them, and raise in them a belief in that invisible power that made and governed the world, but an external manifestation thereof, through the medium of outward miracles. And as Moses and the prophets had foretold of the coming of their last great prophet, it was of singular importance to that people, that they should know and believe in him when he came; and as they depended on outward miracles as the highest evidence under that dispensation, so it is not only reasonable, but even natural to suppose that he would be ushered in by some miraculous display of divine power. Hence the reason, likewise; of the many miracles that Jesus was empowered to work among them, as they were too outward and carnal to receive evidence through any other medium. And we likewise see that none but those who believed on him as their promised Messiah were prepared to receive and obey his last counsel and command to turn from outward and external evidence to that which is inward and spiritual;[1] the latter being as much above the former as the gospel state is above the law state, or the spirit above the letter."

"As to the divinity of Jesus Christ the son of the virgin — when he had arrived at a full state of sonship in the spiritual generation, he was wholly swallowed up into the divinity of his Heavenly Father, and was one with the Father, with only this difference: his Father's divinity was underived, being self-existent; but the Son's divinity was altogether derived from the Father, for otherwise he could not be the Son of God, as in the moral relation to be a son

[1] John xiv. 16, 17, and xvi. 7.

of man, the son must be begotten by one father, and he must be in the same nature, spirit, and likeness of his father, so as to say, I and my father are one, in all those respects. But this was not the case with Jesus in the spiritual relation until he had gone through the last institute of the law dispensation, viz., John's watery baptism, and had received additional power[1] from on high by the descending of the Holy Ghost upon him as he came up out of the water.[2] He then witnessed the fulness of the second birth, being now born into the nature, spirit, and likeness of the Heavenly Father, and God gave witness of it to John, saying, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.'"[3]

SALVATION BY CHRIST.

§ 5. The doctrine of salvation by Christ, as held by the early Friends, has been exhibited in the fifth Chapter of this treatise, and recapitulated in the fifth section of Chapter VII.

The views of Elias Hicks on this subject are expressed in the following passages from his letters and sermons: —

"All the persecution and cruel deaths that have transpired in the world among mankind; not only the persecution and crucifixion of Jesus Christ; but also all the sufferings and martyrdom caused by wicked men, have had their rise and spring from man's unjust and unrighteous use of his liberty and power, conferred upon him only to do his master's will in all things." * * * * "Had the Israelites all

[1] Luke ii. 52.
[2] Matt. iii. 16.
[3] Letters of E. H., pp. 203, 204.

been faithful to the outward covenant given them through Moses, they would all have been prepared to have received their Messiah in the way of his coming, as did those that believed on him, and by which the end of his coming would have been much more fully answered; as all Israel then, like the disciples of Jesus Christ, would willingly have passed from the old, and cheerfully entered into the new dispensation. Hence no crucifixion, no suffering or death of Jesus Christ would have taken place; but when his ministry on earth was finished, by fulfilling the law and abolishing that outward covenant, and turning the minds of the people to the inward, to the law written in the heart, and when, by a life of perfect righteousness and self-denial, he had introduced his disciples into the gospel, he would then have been (like Enoch and Elijah) translated, without suffering the pains of death. But as Divine Wisdom foresaw that his people Israel would revolt from his commandments, and rebel against his law and become cruel and hard-hearted, so likewise he foresaw that the wicked among them would cruelly persecute and slay many of the righteous, and his son Jesus Christ among the rest. Therefore he inspired many of his servants to testify of these things amongst them before they came to pass, as warning and caution, that so those who were seeking after the right way, might be preserved from taking any part therein, while those who wilfully hardened their hearts against reproof might suffer the penalties resulting from their crimes, which they had committed in their own free choice, contrary to the counsel and will of their Creator."[1]

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, pp. 54, 55.

In a letter to Dr. Nathan Shoemaker, Elias Hicks wrote as follows:[1] "By what means did Jesus suffer? The answer is plain — by the hands of wicked men, and because his works were righteous and theirs were wicked. Query. Did God send him into the world purposely to suffer death by the hands of wicked men? By no means; but to live a righteous and Godly life (which was the design and end of God's creating man in the beginning), and thereby be a perfect example to such of mankind as should come to the knowledge of him and his perfect life. For if it was the purpose and will of God that he should die by the hands of wicked men, then the Jews by crucifying him would have done God's will, and of course would all have stood justified in his sight, which could not be. But it was permitted so to be, as it had been with many of the prophets and wise and good men that were before him, who suffered death by the hands of wicked men for righteousness' sake, as ensamples to those that came after, that they should account nothing too dear to give up for the truth's sake, not even their own lives.

"But the shedding of his blood by the wicked Scribes and Pharisees and people of Israel, had a particular effect on the Jewish nation, as by this, the topstone, and worst of all their crimes, was filled up the measure of their iniquities, and which put an end to that dispensation, together with its law and covenant. That, as John's baptism summed up in one, all the previous water baptisms of that dispensation, and put an end to them, which he sealed with

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 422, being Exhibit No. 37, by the orthodox party.

his blood, so this sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ, summed up in one all the outward atoning sacrifices of the shadowy dispensation and put an end to them all, thereby abolishing the law, having previously fulfilled all its righteousness, and, as saith the apostle, 'He blotted out the handwriting of ordinances nailing them to his cross;' having put an end to the law that commanded them, with all its legal sins, and abolished all its legal penalties, so that all the Israelites that believed on him, after he exclaimed on the cross, 'It is finished,' might abstain from all the rituals of their law, such as circumcision, water baptisms, outward sacrifices, Seventh-day sabbaths, and all their other holy-days, &c., and be blameless: and the legal sins that any were guilty of, were now remitted and done away by the abolishment of the law that commanded them, for 'where there is no law there is no transgression.' But those that did not believe on him, many of them were destroyed by the sword, and the rest were scattered abroad in the earth. But *I do not consider that the crucifixion of the outward body of flesh and blood of Jesus on the cross, was an atonement for any sins but the legal sins of the Jews;* for as their law was outward, so their legal sins and their penalties were outward, and these could be atoned for by an outward sacrifice; and this last outward sacrifice was a full type of the inward sacrifice that every sinner must make, in giving up *that sinful life of his own will*, in and by which he hath, from time to time, crucified the innocent life of God in his own soul; and which Paul calls 'the old man with his deeds,' or 'the man of sin and son of perdition,' who hath taken God's seat in the heart, and there exalteth itself above all that is called God, or

is worshipped, sitting as judge and supreme. Now all this life, power, and will of man must be slain and die on the cross spiritually, as Jesus died on the cross outwardly, *and this is the true atonement*, which that outward atonement was a clear and full type of. This the Apostle Paul sets forth in a plain manner, *Romans* vi. 3 and 4. 'Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead,' (outwardly,) 'by the glory of the Father, even so we,' having by the spiritual baptism witnessed a death to sin, shall know a being raised up spiritually and so walk in newness of life."[1]

In a letter of later date he writes: "As to the advantage the reviewers have taken or pretended to take, on what they construe as an admission on my part, in my letter to Dr. Shoemaker, that the death of Christ merely of itself was an atonement at all, I had no such idea; for I believe I rested it principally *on the effects of his mission and death.* As is very clear, not only from the apostle's testimony where he asserts that Jesus had abolished the law, and 'blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, nailing them to his cross,' &c.; but also by the facts which followed, some of which were manifest while he was with his disciples, in justifying them for a breach of their shadowy Sabbath, and divers other things in their conduct which made a breach upon the letter of their law. By which the design of his mission is proved, that it was purposely to put an end to that law and covenant, and to introduce a better: not

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, p. 124 to 126.

another outward one, but an inward one, agreeably to the prophecy of Jeremiah. And this he clearly and amply did in his sermon on the mount, as is before shown, but was finished by his last act of surrender on the cross, when he bowed his head and said, 'It is finished.' At which time the vail of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom."[1]

In his sermon at Pine Street, Philadelphia, delivered 12th month 10th, 1826, Elias Hicks, after referring to "the blood of the Lamb," by which the soul "is washed clean," proceeds as follows: "And what is the blood of the Lamb? It was his life, my friends; for as outward material blood was made use of to express the animal life, inspired men used it as a simile. Outward blood is the life of the animal, but it has nothing to do with the soul; for the soul has no animal blood,—no material blood. The life of God in the soul, is the blood of the soul, and the life of God is the blood of God; and so it was the life and blood of Jesus Christ his son. For he was born of the spirit of his heavenly Father, and swallowed up fully and completely in his divine nature, so that he was completely divine. It was this that operated in that twofold state, and governed the whole animal man, which was the son of Abraham and David — a tabernacle for his blessed soul."[2]

In the year 1829, "Six Queries" were proposed by Thomas Leggett, Jr., of New York, and answered by Elias Hicks. The last was as follows:—

Sixth Query. What relation has the body of Jesus to the Saviour of man? Dost thou believe that the

[1] Letters of E. Hicks, p. 170. [2] Quaker, Vol. I. p. 62

crucifixion of the outward body of Jesus Christ was an atonement for our sins?

Answer. "In reply to the first part of this query, I answer, I believe, in unison with our ancient Friends, that it was the garment in which he performed all his mighty works, or as Paul expressed it, 'Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you,' therefore he charged them not to defile those temples. What is attributed to that body, I acknowledge and give to that body, in its place, according as the Scripture attributeth it, which is through and because of that which dwelt and acted in it. But that which sanctified and kept the body pure (and made all acceptable in him) was the life, holiness, and righteousness of the Spirit. And the same thing that kept his vessel pure, it is the same thing that cleanseth us.'"[1]

"In reply to the second part of this query, I would remark that I 'see no need of directing men to the type for the antitype, neither to the outward temple, nor yet to Jerusalem, neither to Jesus Christ or his blood [outwardly], knowing that neither the righteousness of faith, nor the word of it doth so direct.'"[2] "The new and second covenant is dedicated with the *blood, the life of Christ Jesus*, which is the alone atonement unto God, by which all his pleople are washed, sanctified, cleansed, and redeemed to God."[3]

[1] I. Pennington, Vol. III. p. 34.

[2] G. Whitehead, Light and Life of Christ, Phila. ed. 1823, p. 34.

[3] G. Fox, Doctrinals, p. 646, and Am. ed. Vol. V. p. 365.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSY.

On comparing the doctrines promulgated by Jos. John Gurney with those held by Elias Hicks, it is obvious that they are totally irreconcilable with each other, and on a close examination it will be found. that neither of those eminent men held views, in all points, strictly in accordance with the writings of the early Friends. This is manifest from their own declarations. "Were I required," says J. J. Gurney, "to define Quakerism, I should not describe it as the system so elaborately wrought out by a Barclay, or as the doctrines and maxims of a Penn, or as the deep and refined views of a Pennington, for all these authors have their defects as well as their excellencies. I should call it the religion of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without diminution, without addition, and without compromise."[1]

Elias Hicks writes, in relation to the atonement: "Our primitive Friends stopped short in that matter, not for want of faithfulness, but because the day, that was in some respects still dark, would not admit of further openings, because the people could not bear it, therefore it was to be a future work."[2]

It will probably be admitted by the impartial inquirer, that the doctrines of Elias Hicks are much

[1] Brief Remarks on Interpretation of Scripture, p. 16.
[2] Letters of E. Hicks, p. 66. [To Phebe Willis.]

nearer to the standard of early Quakerism than those of Joseph John Gurney, and there is reason to conclude that each of them honestly believed his views to be, in all essential points, nearly the same as those of Fox, Penn, and Barclay.

In this examination, it must be borne in mind that no Yearly Meeting or other organized body of Friends in England or America has ever given its official sanction to *all* the doctrinal views of either Gurney or Hicks. All Friends concur in referring to the New Testament as the repository of their doctrines, to the Holy Spirit as their expounder, and to the writings of the early Friends as corroborative evidence.

As both Joseph John Gurney and Elias Hicks manifested in life and conversation a Christian spirit, we cannot doubt the reality of their devotion, or the sincerity of their professions. The discordance between their doctrinal views was doubtless the result of education and position, increased, perhaps, by a difference in the natural tendencies of their minds.

It has often been asked, how can we reconcile such a diversity of doctrines among those who profess to be led by the Spirit of Truth in their ministrations? This has, doubtless, been a stumbling-block to many sincere, seeking souls. It can only be removed by bearing in mind the frailty of human nature, and the condescension of Infinite Goodness. The Spirit of Truth is infallible in itself; but man being fallible, is liable to mistake its dictates, unless preserved in watchfulness and humility.

It is the experience of all truly religious persons that, in their seasons of private devotion, subjects of deep interest to their spiritual welfare are sometimes opened to their view, and instruction is imparted to

them in the language of impressions made upon the mind. By this means they are enlightened in regard to the duties of life, and sometimes doctrinal subjects are opened to the understanding; but it does not appear that every doctrine of Christianity is always revealed in clearness, even to the most devoted minds. Now we must remember that ministers of the gospel are, in regard to their religious experience, taught in the same manner as others, by the illumination of divine grace, and on some subjects the light may not have shone, leaving them still under the influence of traditional opinions. Even the Apostle Paul acknowledged, "We know in part and we prophesy in part." * * * * "For now we see through a glass darkly."[1] They who are called to the gospel ministry are, at times, moved by an indescribable impulse, accompanied with love to God and man, to communicate to others the truths that have warmed their own hearts. This preparation for religious service is thus described by the Psalmist: "My heart was hot within me; while I was musing, the fire burned: then spake I with my tongue."[2]

When the Holy Spirit illuminates the understanding, all its faculties are quickened and invigorated. It is then that the chambers of memory are unlocked, and he who is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, "brings forth out of his treasures things new and old;" passages of Scripture adapted to the occasion are brought to mind, and sometimes seen in a new light; personal experience is revived and pertinently applied, and even the knowledge of the natural sciences stored in the mind may be brought forth and made subservient to the illustration of heavenly truth.

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 9–12. [2] Ps. xxxix. 3.

A minister of the gospel, who is watchful and obedient, will generally be preserved from meddling with things too high for him, but if at any time he should be induced by undue excitement, or the association of ideas, to touch upon subjects on which he is not authorized to speak, he will, of course, handle them in accordance with his preconceived opinions. In almost every reflecting mind, some subjects or points of doctrine have claimed peculiar attention, and assumed unusual importance; these are always knocking for admission; and nothing short of entire self-renunciation will enable a minister to avoid their introduction at times when they are not authorized nor appropriate.

From these causes, a diversity of expression has resulted, even among ministers who have received a measure of the holy anointing; and it has often been observed that a discourse begun under the solemnizing influence of divine truth, has before its conclusion degenerated into a mere recitation of speculative opinions that did not profit the hearers. If we have evidence that some, who occasionally err in this manner, are at other times favored "to minister in the ability which God giveth," should we not reverence the condescension of Infinite Goodness, and, remembering our own weakness, be slow to censure our fellow-servants?

It has already been observed, that Friends in America generally held the views inculcated by Fox, Penn, Pennington and Barclay, and that great stress was laid upon the grace of God or spirit of Christ, as the efficient cause of salvation. This statement is fully sustained by the "Introduction to Christian Ad-

vices," published in the year 1808, by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia, viz.: —

"The following extracts have been compiled for the benefit of the members of our Yearly Meeting, that observing the travail of the Church under various concerns which, in divine wisdom, have been communicated for its weighty attention, they may be drawn to the *principle of Life and Light* manifested in the mind, which points out the path of duty, and can alone preserve therein.

"Our ancient Friends and their faithful successors to the present day have earnestly labored to turn the attention of all to *this pure spirit*, knowing from experience that it is the means appointed by God *for effecting our salvation*, and the *only foundation* of true religion and worship. As by this we have been led into divers testimonies which have distinguished us from most other professors of the Christian name, and fervently desire that all our members may walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing; thus every one filling his place in the body, we shall grow up into Him in all things, who is the Head, even Christ."

These sentiments are further corroborated by the memorials of deceased Friends, issued by the same Yearly Meeting during a long series of years.

The following extract is from the "Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia for the Southern District concerning Deborah Evans, wife of William Evans." "At another time she said, that some time back, upon hearing some parts of the New Testament read, respecting our Saviour, the query occurred, 'What do I know of a Saviour?' and it was presently followed by the evidence that she had felt a principle

in her own mind, which had shown her what was right and what was wrong, and that as she attended to it, it would prove a Saviour to her—and then said these expressions were brought to her remembrance, 'To know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent is life eternal.'"

Such being the sentiments generally held by Friends composing the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, and to a considerable extent entertained by those of other Yearly Meetings on this continent; it is not surprising that the promulgation of the doctrines held by prominent Friends in England and their coadjutors in America, should have occasioned a blaze of religious controversy. Between the years 1819 and 1828, a large number of ministers from Great Britain visited the meetings of Friends in America, some of them remaining several years.

There are many persons now living, who can well remember the effects produced by the ministrations of William Forster, Isaac Stephenson, George Withey, Anna Braithwait, Elizabeth Robson, George Jones, Ann Jones, and Thomas Shillitoe.

William Forster, in his religious opinions, coincided entirely with Joseph John Gurney.[1] His ministry was however frequently of a practical character, and at times remarkable for its baptizing power. The variety of his subjects, the appropriateness of his illustrations, the purity of his language, and the depth of his feelings, rendered him an impressive and instructive minister of the gospel.

Isaac Stephenson was considered a plain, simple,

[1] See Chapter VII. Letter of W. Forster.

worthy friend, and a good minister. Most of the others were doctrinal in their communications, and being impressed with a belief that many Friends had embraced dangerous opinions, were frequent and severe in their denunciations against heresy. It is much to be lamented that their zeal for what are called orthodox doctrines should have induced them to aid in building up a party having in view the suppression of what they deemed heresy, and resorting for its accomplishment to arbitrary and oppressive measures that had the most disastrous results.

One of the favorite schemes of the ministers from England and their coadjutors in America, which however proved unsuccessful, was the appointment of a convention to be composed of delegates from all the Yearly Meetings of Friends, for the purpose of promoting uniformity in their codes of discipline. There can be no doubt that the promoters of this measure had also in view a uniformity in doctrines, and the adoption of a common declaration of faith, which, since the separation, they have carried into effect among themselves.[1]

This scheme was considered, by a large number of Friends, very objectionable, inasmuch as it would place in the hands of a few men the power to remodel the code of discipline, and perhaps to impose a confession of faith not adapted to the condition of the several Yearly Meetings. Like the councils held in the fourth century under the imposing design of promoting uniformity of faith, it would probably have resulted, as they did, in abridging religious liberty and spreading dissension.

[1] See Testimony of the [Orthodox] Yearly Meetings in America, signed by Elisha Bates, clerk of the General Committee.

The first attempt to introduce this measure was made at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, where it met with so much opposition that it could not be adopted, but a postscript was added to the epistles addressed to other Yearly Meetings, suggesting it as a subject for consideration. At the Yearly Meeting held in New York in 1817, it was considered and rejected, Elias Hicks being one of those who opposed it. At the ensuing Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore, the subject was taken up, and after much deliberation, it was concluded to inform Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that it was the judgment of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, "advantages would arise to the Society from a conference of the several Yearly Meetings *on this continent*, by suitably qualified Friends appointed by each of them, in order that each Yearly Meeting may be put in possession, through this medium of the general state of society in America." This minute, it will be observed, did not embrace the original design, nor did it contemplate any co-operation with the Yearly Meeting of London. It appears not to have been satisfactory to the promoters of the scheme, and no further progress at that time was made.

The design, however, was not abandoned, as we learn by the following extract from a letter written in 1822, by Hugh Judge, an eminent minister of Ohio Yearly Meeting. "William Forster, the English Friend, revived in our Yearly Meeting last fall, the old subject, namely, the appointment of a congress as proposed in your Yearly Meeting some years past; and although our Yearly Meeting the year before had unitedly laid it asleep, yet William Forster pressed the matter so much, that Friends, although contrary to the sense of the meeting, condescended

to take it on minute and appointed a committee to consider it and report, and called on the women to join them in it. But the women were wiser than the men, and dismissed the subject without further troubling themselves with it, and the men's committee reported that no way opened to take any step; and the meeting was for dismissing it, but William Forster urged the matter so hard that he prevailed on the meeting to refer it over to the next year for consideration."[1]

In the year 1825, William Forster, being in Baltimore, had an interview with Evan Thomas, an eminent and devoted minister of the gospel, then in his 87th year, and their conversation, on account of an extraordinary prediction then uttered, was written down, soon after it occurred, by a Friend who was present at the time.

William Forster, referring to some incidents that had occurred in the course of his recent visit to the Southern and Western States, remarked: "He was convinced in many places through which he had passed, that unsound views were entertained by many of our members, and that he believed Elias Hicks had been instrumental in spreading doctrines and opinions that could not be owned by the Society of Friends. To this Evan Thomas replied that he believed Elias Hicks did hold some peculiar views which, perhaps, were not entertained by Friends generally; they were his honest opinions, however, and there could be no doubt were sincerely entertained by him. Upon this, William Forster observed, that some of these views were radically un-

[1] Narrative of Causes which led to the Separation, &c., p. 21.

sound and subversive of the fundamental and essential doctrines of Christianity, and then emphatically and with much earnestness of manner, asked Evan Thomas, if in any public communication or private conversation, he had ever heard Elias Hicks say, 'Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?' After some pause, Evan Thomas replied, 'I do not recollect that I ever did, yet he may have used these expressions, without exciting my attention to them. I have not felt it to be my place to sit as a watchman at the gate, to recollect and record particular words falling from the lips of any Friend, either in his public testimonies or private conversation. I generally endeavor to feel after and satisfy myself of the source whence public communications flow, and if they are accompanied by the Divine influence and power, I do not look critically into the exact words that may be used. I have long been acquainted with Elias Hicks and believe him to be a consistent, faithful testimony bearer; and although I may not agree with him in all his views, yet I can own him as a brother beloved, and have no doubt he has been called to the ministry by the Head of the church.' To this William Forster replied: 'I consider him to be altogether unsound in his views—that he has done a great deal of harm, by extensively spreading dangerous opinions among Friends in this country, and am convinced, *a separation must and will take place in* the Society in America.'"[1]

From these expressions, uttered two years before the separation, we may conclude, that Wm. Forster, and probably others of the English visitors, looked

[1] Narrative of the Causes which led to the Separation, &c., p. 37

forward to such a separation as had taken place in Ireland, in the beginning of the century when the Orthodox party remained in the ascendancy and their opposers were scattered as sheep without a shepherd. The two cases, however, were not parallel; for the views advanced by those who were called Separatists in Ireland, both in regard to doctrine and discipline, were not the same as those held by Elias Hicks and his friends, and moreover the Friends in America were less submissive to English authority than their brethren in Ireland.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland, before the date of those troubles, was, "in matters of faith and principle," subordinate to that of London, and has since continued in that condition; whereas the Yearly Meetings in America had never acknowledged such subordination, but each of them in its government was independent of all others, though united in Christian fellowship.

The views advanced in sermons and conversations, and promulgated in the writings of English Friends, were controverted by some of the most prominent Friends in America, and embraced by others.

The latter class, in ranging themselves as the advocates of orthodoxy, did not all hold the precise views of Joseph John Gurney, but they all lent their countenance and support to the ministers from England, and used language in their religious communications *which led the public to believe that they were thoroughly orthodox.* Subsequent developments have shown that they were not united in doctrine, and the consequence has been, controversy and division among themselves, accompanied with feelings not

less adverse to each other than those they manifested towards Elias Hicks.

In speaking of the two parties composing the Society between the years 1822 and 1828, it is necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to designate them by different names, and no reasonable objection can be made to the use of those chosen by themselves respectively. The class who adhered to the English doctrines assumed the name of Orthodox, as appears by their publications, and especially by their two bills in chancery addressed to the governor and chancellor of New Jersey in the year 1828.[1]

One of their counsel, Isaac H. Williamson, declared, also, on their behalf, "We are not dissatisfied with the name given to us. Ever since the fourth century when the controversy arose between the Arians and the Trinitarians, those who adhered to what are termed *trinitarian doctrines* have been called 'Orthodox.'"[2] By this appellation I shall therefore distinguish them, without vouching for its literal correctness. The other class were, by the Orthodox, called Hicksites, but they continually and perseveringly disclaimed the title, being unwilling to acknowledge any other name than that of Friends. In their answer to the Bill in Chancery filed against them in New Jersey, they say, "That in the said Chesterfield Preparative Meeting of Friends, at Crosswicks, the minor party assuming the name of the Orthodox party, have separated from the majority, who still claim and are entitled to the primary and ancient title of Friends, and have endeavored to bestow upon them the name of Hicksites, but which term

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 7, 32. [2] Arguments of Counsel, p. 60.

the said Society of Friends altogether disclaim, and deny that they are the followers of any man or *set* of men; but are endeavoring conscientiously to maintain the regular discipline and government of the Society of Friends;—that they believe in the doctrines of the Christian religion as set forth in the New Testament, and as professed by ancient Friends."[1] This class will, therefore, in this work, be designated as Friends.

In the doctrinal controversy which continued for many years, both parties claimed to be the genuine successors of the early Friends, alike in doctrine and practice, and each charged the other with a departure, in important particulars, from the original doctrines of the Society. In order to sustain these assertions, many publications were issued consisting chiefly of extracts from the writings of the early Friends, which were generally *one-sided;* each party selecting those passages which favored its own views. This method of conducting a controversy does not always arise from disingenuousness; it frequently springs from that quality of human nature which induces almost every man to regard with peculiar interest that which concerns himself or his party, and to overlook that which concerns others.

This may be illustrated by reference to the effect generally produced upon those who, standing on an eminence, survey the district of country in which they live. In the scene outspread before them, they note with deep interest their own neighborhood or city, and especially their own habitations; but they often overlook other features of the landscape of equal

[1] Foster's Reports, Vol. I. p. 24.

general interest, and these, if seen, make less impression on the memory.

In like manner, the members of every sect in Christendom note with most interest, and remember with most accuracy, those passages of Scripture that support their own views.

In this examination, it is important to observe, that the orthodox party, while claiming to hold the ancient doctrines of the Society, classed themselves among the "*Trinitarian sects*," and asserted that there was a *remarkable harmony* "as regards most of the doctrines of the Christian religion" between the early Friends and Christian professors generally.[1]

Thus they say, in their Pleadings in Chancery: "In what among Protestants are commonly deemed the great essentials of Christianity, the religious sentiments of the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, are in accordance with the doctrines commonly entertained by the other Protestant sects of Christians who arose after the dawn of the great Protestant reformation in Europe." * * * * "That the principal difference between the people called Quakers and *other Protestant Trinitarian sects*, in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, is, that the latter attach the idea of individual personage to the three, as what they consider a fair logical inference from the doctrines expressly laid down in the Holy Scriptures. The people called Quakers on the other hand, considering it a mystery beyond finite, human conception, *take up the doctrine as expressly laid down in the Scripture*, and have not considered themselves warranted in making deductions however specious."

[1] Testimony of Thos. Evans, Foster's Report, Vol. I. p. 298.

"In the second place, the people called Quakers have always believed in the doctrine of the atonement; that the divine and human nature of Jesus Christ the Saviour were united; that thus united he suffered, and that through his sufferings, death, and resurrection, he atoned for the sins of men." * * * *
"That such are the doctrines entertained and adopted by the ancient Society of Friends, and that the same doctrines are still entertained by the *Orthodox party aforesaid*, to which party your orator belongs. That these doctrines are with the said religious Society fundamental, and any individual entertaining sentiments and opinions contrary to all or any of the above-mentioned doctrines, is held not to be in the same faith with the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, and is treated accordingly."[1]

Samuel Bettle, clerk of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, testified as follows:

"*Question.* Did ancient Friends accord in sentiment with the other Protestant sects, in regard to the atonement, the trinity, and the divine authority of the Scriptures, and the divine nature of the Saviour.

"*Answer.* As far as I know the profession of other Protestant sects on these subjects, *Friends agree with them in substance*, as explained in my examination in chief. On reflection, I do believe there is a discrimination in respect to the Scriptures. Friends do not profess to believe the Scriptures to be the word spoken of by the evangelist John;—they hold that Christ was the Word, but they believe that the Scriptures were the product of revelation from God, and in that sense the words of God."[2]

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 1, 6, 7. [2] Ibid. p. 78.

As we know of no Protestant sect that profess to believe the Scriptures to be "the *Word spoken of by the Evangelist John*," — the Word that was in the beginning with God and was God,[1] — we may infer that the question was answered by Samuel Bettle in the affirmative.

From this testimony, given in a court of equity, we must conclude that the orthodox party then professed to hold substantially the same doctrines, in regard to the Scriptures, the Trinity, original sin, and atonement, that were held by the Church of England and "*other Protestant Trinitarian sects*," and we know from the testimony of the Bishop of Norwich and other distinguished churchmen, that Joseph John Gurney was, in their estimation, thoroughly orthodox. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that the Orthodox party in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore professed, in 1828, the same doctrines as Joseph John Gurney, although many leading members of that party have since disavowed them.

Their disavowal may be found in "An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends," published by direction of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting, held at Arch Street House, Philadelphia, in the year 1847. This document is chiefly a review of the doctrinal writings of Joseph John Gurney, containing many extracts from his works, *without the insertion of his name.* After contrasting his views with those of the early Friends, in relation to reason and faith, imputative righteousness, justification, and sanctification; the flesh and blood of Christ; the distinct personality of Father, Son, and Holy

[1] See Cruden's Conc., article WORD.

Spirit; and the resurrection of the body; they proceed as follows: —

"These passages here brought together contain sentiments in many respects at variance with those held by our ancient Friends, and always professed by our Religious Society. There are others of similar character scattered through these works, and many which are unsatisfactory, either on account of want of clearness and consistency with our principles, or containing terms which Friends do not approve. That in various places Christian doctrine is supported on Scriptural ground is undoubtedly true; and it may be owing to this circumstance that many, even in our own Society, have not appreciated the weighty objections to which, in many respects, these writings are liable. We believe the sentiments contained in the passages which we have quoted have had an injurious influence, in producing feelings of discord and division among Friends; and however these feelings may have been increased by other causes, they are, we believe, mainly to be attributed to the publication and circulation of those writings."[1]

As the most elaborate of those writings, "The Essays on Christianity" appeared in 1825, and some others of Gurney's doctrinal writings were published at an earlier date; it is very remarkable that his errors were not detected and exposed by the lynx-eyed critics among the orthodox party in Philadelphia prior to the lamented separation of 1827. Had they then seen and acknowledged that the doctrines called orthodox are not consistent with primitive Christian-

[1] An Appeal, &c., p. 51.

ity, as professed by the early Friends, the calamitous effects of that separation might have been avoided.

In addition to their "Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines," we have, in a recent publication, the corroborating testimony of Jonathan Evans, the prime mover and leader of the opposition to Elias Hicks and his friends.

In the year 1837, he wrote to John Wilbur a letter containing the following passage: —

"This man, J. J. Gurney, because he has written much, is considered very learned, highly polished, and an acute reasoner, and being very rich, and living in high style, is greatly caressed, and esteemed as almost a prodigy among us. I have perused a great deal of his writings, and have been sorely distressed at the darkness and confusion which is almost inseparable from their contents. The Hebrew and Greek languages being very limited, one word in them will sometimes embrace several significations, some of which will be in entire contrast with others; this he has caught at, and then made use of those opposite senses to vary the present translation of the Scriptures, and to promote his purpose in undervaluing and contradicting the solid sense and judgment of our ancient Friends, that he may the more readily introduce and propagate Episcopalian doctrines. He tries to make out that the eating of the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, means a belief in his incarnation, thus lowering down that deep experience and blessed fellowship in spirit with the Lord Jesus, in his baptisms and sufferings, to a mere assent of the human mind, — that the gospel, which is preached in or to every human being, means the outward preaching of the gospel doctrines, that is, the declaration of the

atonement of Christ; that the name of Jesus does not signify his power, but only to ask of the Father that he would grant our petitions, merely because of his beloved Son, Jesus Christ; that therefore we are not to look for the immediate influence of the Spirit, as a qualification to pray, but to push forward into this offering whenever we incline to it; and many other changes he makes which I can call by no other name than perversions. He endeavors to make out that our primitive Friends were under mistaken views, in order that he may with more facility lay waste the doctrines and testimonies they held, and prepare us to embrace new schemes which will be more acceptable to the unregenerate man; liberate us from the mortifying operation of the cross of Christ, and cause us as a Society to be more respected by the carnal, superficial professors of religion in the several denominations."[1]

In reply to these severe strictures on the doctrines and motives of J. J. Gurney, it may safely be asserted that he was sincere in his professions, and therefore entitled to respect; but we can only surmise what motives could have induced the leaders of the Orthodox party in 1827–28, to give their countenance and support to the promulgation of doctrines they have since disavowed.

It is worthy of note, that two English ministers, Thomas Shillitoe and George Jones, who, while in America, were understood by the public to preach the doctrines commonly called orthodox, found it incumbent on them, in the prospect of death, to bear their testimony against the writings of Joseph John Gur-

[1] Journal and Cor. John Wilbur, p. 228.

ney, and one of them confessed his contrition for not having done it, as required by a sense of duty, at an earlier date. Three days before his decease, Thomas Shillitoe requested a friend to commit to writing the following declaration "against the generality of the writings of J. J. Gurney:" "I declare the author is an Episcopalian, not a Quaker. I apprehend J. J. Gurney is no Quaker in principle. Episcopalian views were imbibed from his education, and still remain with him. I love the man for the work's sake, so far as it goes, but he has never been emptied from vessel to vessel, and from sieve to sieve, nor known the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and of fire to cleanse the floor of his heart from his Episcopalian notions. He has spread a linsey-woolsey garment over our members; but in a future day it will be stripped off, it will be too short for them, as they will be without Jesus Christ the Lord. This is my dying testimony, and I must sign it. If I had been faithful, I should have expressed it in the last Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders [1836], but I hope I shall be forgiven. Oh! Lord accept me with the best I have."[1]

George Jones, in a letter, dated 9th of 5th month, 1839, addressed to the members of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, London, after expressing his decided disapprobation of the writings of J. J. Gurney, thus continues: "These things have rested much on my mind, particularly during my present illness, and it must be very evident that J. J. Gurney's interpretations of the Scriptures are so contrary to those of the Society from its first commencement, that if his interpretations are to prevail, then the

[1] J. Wilbur's Narrative, p. 345.

Society must change its ground, and become an inconsistent mixture of Quakerism and Episcopalianism." * * * * * "These things have deeply impressed and afflicted the minds of our dear Friends Thomas Shillitoe and John Barclay, who are in mercy gathered to their everlasting rest."[1]

As the objectionable writings of Joseph John Gurney had been published and widely circulated by Friends twelve years and upwards, before these disavowals were made, may we not conclude that the unfaithfulness to manifested duty, so feelingly confessed by Thomas Shillitoe, was no less attributable to many other Friends in England and America, who gave their countenance to doctrines that, in their hearts, they did not approve? Alas! for poor human nature; those Friends could denounce the unpopular views attributed to Elias Hicks, but they could not bear witness against the innovations of popular theology, when dressed up in attractive language and recommended by the possessors of wealth and high social position.

May we not apply to Jonathan Evans and his party, the language he used in relation to Joseph John Gurney: they supported a scheme which would "liberate us from the mortifying operation of the cross of Christ and cause us as a Society to be more respected by the carnal, superficial professors of religion in the several denominations." According to their own mode of reasoning, they were responsible for the doctrines preached by the English Friends, some of whom held precisely the views of Gurney, and yet were acknowledged by the orthodox party in Philadelphia as sound gospel ministers.

[1] J. Wilbur's Narrative, p. 348.

CHAPTER X.

DISCIPLINE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE origin and character of that system of Church government which, in its essential features, was recommended by George Fox, and, with some modifications, adopted by the Society of Friends, have been noticed in the preceding narrative,[1] and more fully described in a previous work.[2] It is therefore deemed needless to enter into its details, further than may be requisite to promote a clear understanding of the transactions to be related.

MEETINGS FOR DISCIPLINE.

The meetings for discipline in the Society of Friends are called Preparative, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly. The Preparative meeting generally consists of a single congregation; it is not a meeting of record; its purpose is to prepare and report business for the Monthly meeting to which it is subordinate. The Monthly meeting may consist of a single congregation, or be composed of several Preparative meetings contiguous to each other. This is considered the executive organ of the Society, being intrusted with the power of receiving or disowning members, granting or accepting certificates of removal, directing and recording the solemnization of marriages, keeping a register of births and deaths, providing

[1] See Hist. Vol. I. Chap. XVIII., and Vol. II. Chap. X.

[2] See Dissertation on Discipline, Janney's Life of G. Fox, p. 479.

for the support of the poor and the education of their children, inquiring at stated periods into the condition of the Society within its limits, and forwarding an account of the same to the Quarterly meeting. The Quarterly meeting is usually composed of several Monthly meetings contiguous to each other, and in some cases it is held alternately at different places. Its purpose is to receive the reports from the Monthly meetings, which are subordinate to it, and embody them in a general report to the Yearly meeting. It has a general supervision of the Monthly meetings composing it.

The Yearly meeting is composed of all the Quarterly meetings within certain limits, which send representatives to attend it and lay before it a written report. The representatives have no more power than other members in attendance, except that they are required to meet together and nominate a clerk, and to examine and report upon any other business that may be referred to them. Any member, who may feel himself aggrieved by the judgment of a Monthly meeting, may, after a copy of his testimony of disownment is delivered to him, give due notice of his intention to appeal to the Quarterly meeting; and if the Quarterly meeting shall decide against him, he may in like manner appeal to the Yearly meeting, whose judgment in the case is final.

The Yearly meeting exercises a general supervision over all the meetings within its limits, and issues advices in relation to the state of the Society and the support of its testimonies. It is the highest tribunal in the Society, and has power to enact, modify, or abrogate the rules of discipline; but this authority is usually exercised with great caution and delibera-

tion, and only with the general concurrence of those in attendance. When an alteration in the rules of discipline is thought desirable, the usual course is, for a member "feeling the concern" to propose it in his Monthly meeting, and if there approved, the proposition is forwarded in the report to the Quarterly meeting, where it is considered, and if united with, forwarded in the report to the Yearly meeting.

The several Yearly meetings throughout the world are independent of each other, except the Yearly meeting of Dublin, which, "in matters of faith and principle," is subordinate to that of London. The Yearly meetings prior to the year 1827, were as follows: London, Dublin, New England, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana. They kept up an epistolary correspondence, and, in all essential points, their codes of discipline were nearly the same.

In all the meetings for discipline, every member not under dealings for a breach of discipline, is at liberty to sit and participate in the proceedings. The men and women meet in separate apartments, and are co-ordinate branches of the same meeting, each having a clerk of its own, but in some cases they appoint joint committees to prepare business in which both branches are interested. The clerks are nominated by committees, and after consideration appointed by the meeting. It is the duty of the clerk to gather the sense or judgment of the members present, and to record their decisions on such questions as may come before them.

"In these solemn assemblies," says Wm. Penn, "no one presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people, Christ only being their

president, as he is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, *not of authority but conviction;* which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people; making good his blessed promise that 'He would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world.'"

It is obvious that a church thus constituted cannot act upon the principle of political bodies where a majority governs; and it is still more objectionable for a minority to assume the right to govern. The only way to preserve "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" is for every member who participates in such meetings to draw nigh to the Fountain of light and life, in order to ask wisdom of God, "who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not." While waiting upon Him in this frame of mind, each member is at liberty, under a sense of duty, to express his views with meekness, and if they proceed from the pure teachings of the Spirit of Truth, they will meet the witness for truth in other minds, and being responded to, will generally prevail over the meeting. It sometimes occurs that one of the younger members, being unbiassed and wholly resigned to follow his impressions of duty, becomes the instrument to point out the right course, which being acceded to by others, is adopted by the meeting; but in most cases the older and more experienced members are expected to take the lead in all matters of importance. Although there may, at first, be some diversity of sentiment, it seldom happens that a meeting where Divine love prevails, is long in doubt concerning any matter that

is necessary to be decided. A meeting may be thrown into confusion by entering into the discussion of questions with which it has no proper concern, in which case, stepping out of its province, it has no right to expect divine guidance. If a considerable degree of unanimity cannot be attained, it is best not to insist upon a decision, but rather to wait and adjourn from time to time, or dismiss the question. When discipline cannot be exercised with good feelings and tolerable unanimity, it is better to stand still; for if unity and love do not prevail, it is an evidence that the Spirit of Christ does not sanction our proceedings, and, like the Israelites of old, we should be careful not to move forward so long as "the cloud rests upon the tabernacle, whether it be two days, or a month, or a year."[1]

This system of church government, being in accordance with the principles of Christianity, is beautiful and perfect in theory; and so long as the Spirit of Christ was permitted to bear rule, producing love and unity in the body, it was completely successful in practice. It is not, however, so well adapted to a divided church, in which jealousy, party spirit, and contention prevail. The difficulty and delicacy of the duty imposed on the clerk, of collecting and recording the judgment of the meeting, without a vote being taken, is so great, that in times of excitement and conflicting opinions, few persons can be found competent to the task. It is maintained by some that, not numbers, but weight of religious character, is the true ground of decision. But this does not remove the difficulty;

[1] This paragraph is reproduced from my Dissertation on Christian Discipline, appended to Life of G. Fox, p. 486.

for who is competent to estimate the weight and decide the preponderance when party spirit shakes the scales? If the clerk is to be the sole judge, he and a small minority united with him in sentiment, may carry their measures over the heads of a large majority more weighty than themselves as regards religious experience and consistency of conduct.

In view of these difficulties, it may be asked, Shall we then, in seasons of unusual excitement and agitation, determine questions in meetings for discipline by the voice of a majority, as they do in most other religious societies? To adopt the system of voting in Friends' meetings for discipline would be a departure from the principles of church government originally established, and would evince a want of confidence in the promise of Christ, "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." "For when two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

By adhering to the course pursued by the Society in its earlier days, all the difficulties alluded to may be overcome. No question was decided against the judgment and continued opposition of a respectable minority. If such a minority decidedly objected to any measure, it was not forced through the meeting, but postponed or abandoned, unless a more general acquiescence could be attained. Some inconveniences may, at times, attend this course, but great benefits will ultimately result from it. The dangers attendant on hasty action may thus be avoided, and the exercise of patience, forbearance and condescension will promote the growth of all the qualities that adorn and ennoble the Christian character.

To decide questions of church discipline in this

manner requires the assent of more than a bare majority of the members in attendance; it implies a general acquiescence, and does not call in question that great and beneficent principle, which lies at the root of civil and religious liberty in America—the right of the majority to govern.

In the printed epistle of the Yearly Meeting of London, dated 1735, the following advice is given in relation to meetings for discipline: "We recommend as a means very conducive to the preservation of Friends, a people of one heart and one way, for the good of themselves and their children after them, that the discipline of the church in the several meetings instituted for that purpose be kept up and managed in a spirit of wisdom and love. Let all things in those meetings be done with charity; let the love of God in an especial manner rule in their hearts; and therein though sometimes different sentiments may arise, yet will every particular member have the same thing in view, viz., the glory of God and the good of his church and people, and in this singleness of heart they will best promote the great end and service of those meetings."

These advices correspond with the views of Geo. Fox, who, in his epistles, frequently exhorts Friends "to hold all their meetings in the power of God."

"So Friends are not," he says, "to meet like a company of people about town or parish business, neither in their men's nor women's meetings; but to wait upon the Lord; and feeling his power and spirit to lead them and order them to his glory; that so whatsoever they may do, they may do it to the praise and glory of God, and in unity in the faith,

and in the spirit, and in fellowship in the order of the gospel, &c."[1]

OVERSEERS.

The Rules of Discipline require that in every Monthly Meeting of Friends, a proper number of judicious men and women Friends be appointed to the Station of Overseers; "whose duty it shall be to exercise a vigilant and tender care over their fellow-members, that if anything repugnant to the harmony and good order of the Society appears amongst them, it may be timely attended to. And to prevent the introduction of all unnecessary and premature complaints into meetings of discipline, it is advised that if any member shall have cause of complaint against another, it be mentioned to the overseers, who are to see that the party complained of has been treated with, according to gospel order, previously to the case being reported to the Preparative or Monthly Meeting."

MEETINGS OF MINISTERS AND ELDERS.

The Society of Friends, from its rise to the present day, has always maintained that gospel ministry is not of man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, agreeably to the apostolical charge: — "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ, to

[1] Fox's Epistles, pp. 349, 350.

whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever." 1 *Pet.* iv. 10.

Soon after the rise of the Society, the ministers occasionally met together for consultation and mutual aid, and as early as the year 1672 a Yearly Meeting of ministers was held in London.

One of the objects contemplated in the establishment of such meetings is thus stated in an epistle of George Fox, dated 1674. "At your general assemblies of the ministry at London, or elsewhere, examine as it was at first, whether all the ministers that go forth into the countries, do walk as becomes the gospel; for that you know was one end of that meeting, to prevent and take away scandal; and to examine whether all do keep in the government of Christ Jesus, that preach him, and in the order of the gospel, and to exhort them that do not. For the foundation is already laid which is Christ, and his government is set up, of the increase of which there is no end."

The first establishment of meetings for worship and discipline in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, has already been related.[1]

A Yearly Meeting of ministers was also instituted at an early date, as appears by the following minute of the general Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in the year 1665, viz.: "It is agreed that Friends in the ministry do meet together on First-day morning at the seventh hour, before the public general meeting, in such place as shall be prepared by the public Friends in each town where the meeting shall be held that year." At the same time it was concluded

[1] Hist., Vol. II. pp. 374, 384.

that the General Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey should thereafter meet alternately at Philadelphia and Burlington.

In the year 1714, the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, at the request of some of the Quarterly meetings, issued the following minute: "This meeting agrees, that the Quarterly meeting do recommend to each Monthly meeting within their respective limits that they choose two or more Friends out of each Monthly meeting, (where meetings of ministers are or shall be held,) to sit with the ministers in their meetings; taking care that the Friends chosen for that service be prudent, solid Friends, and that they do carefully discharge their trust in such matters, and in such manner as the Monthly meeting shall from time to time see occasion to appoint them."[1]

This appears to be the first advice issued by the Yearly Meeting in relation to the appointment of elders, and it is observable that they were to discharge their trust in obedience to the directions of the Monthly meetings. Ministers and Elders held Preparative, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of their own, which were frequently called Select Meetings. At these meetings, Queries relating to their conduct and conversation, and the soundness of the ministry, were periodically considered and answered. It was expressly provided by a rule of discipline that they should not "in any wise interfere with the business of any *Meeting for Discipline.*" Their meetings were not classed among the meetings for discipline, having no power to control the other members, nor to propose any rules relating to faith or practice.

[1] MS. Discipline of 1762.

In 1797, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia issued the following minute: "When the gifts of ministers are considered and approved by a Monthly meeting, and a minute thereof forwarded to the Quarterly meeting of Ministers and Elders, the sense and concurrence of that meeting ought to be had before such minister be reputed as a received and approved minister, or admitted to sit in the meetings of Ministers and Elders, or travel abroad in the ministry." And finally, the rule of discipline now in force was established in 1806, that the Preparative meeting of Ministers and Elders (within the limits of each Monthly meeting) should take the initiatory step in the recommendation of ministers. When any Friend has frequently appeared as a minister, and that meeting apprehends it is seasonable and proper to bring the subject before the Monthly meeting, it is at liberty to do so; and if the Monthly meeting unites in believing that a gift in the ministry has been committed to the individual, the case is to be forwarded to the Quarterly meeting of Ministers and Elders, and if concurrence is there expressed, the Friend is to be considered an approved minister.

It will be observed that all the proceedings in such cases are predicated upon the ground that a gift in the ministry can only be conferred by the Head of the Church, and that no ecclesiastical authority can give a call to that solemn service. When a gift has been conferred, it is the duty of the Church to acknowledge it, and to give such counsel and encouragement as may be deemed appropriate. When a minister thus acknowledged, has a prospect of travelling and appointing meetings beyond the limits

of his Quarterly meeting, it is advised that the subject be laid before the Monthly meeting, and if concurred with, that a certificate be granted by that meeting, recommending him to the Christian care and attention of Friends where he may be called to labor. If the prospect of religious service be extensive, the certificate thus granted is to be laid before the Quarterly meeting for discipline; and if the field of labor lies "beyond the sea," the concurrence of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders is required. The meeting last concerned in sanctioning such religious visits, is required to see that a suitable companion be provided to travel with the minister, and if deemed needful, that pecuniary aid for the expenses of the journey be furnished; but such aid is not offered to those who have means to pay their own expenses without diminishing the comfort of their families; nor is anything in the nature of a compensation for preaching sanctioned by the discipline or approved writings of Friends.

It was the advice of Geo. Fox, frequently reiterated, that Friends should not oppose or judge one another in meetings for divine worship. Thus he writes: "All Friends in your meetings do not quench the Spirit. And take heed, and do not judge one another in the meetings, but have patience until the meeting be done: so that if any have anything upon him to speak to another, he may speak to him *after the meeting is done;* that will cover one another's weakness and not hurt others."[1].

In accordance with this advice a rule of discipline was made, and is still in force, viz.: "As the occasion

[1] Epistles of G. F., p. 128.

of our religious meetings is solemn, a care should be maintained to guard against anything that would tend to disorder and confusion therein; when any think they have aught against what is publicly delivered, they should speak to the party privately, and if any shall oppose a minister in his or her preaching or exhortation, or keep on the hat, or show any remarkable dislike to such when engaged in prayer, let them be speedily admonished in such manner as may be requisite, unless the ministry of the person against whom the uneasiness is expressed, has been disapproved by the Monthly Meeting."[1]

The Yearly Meeting minute of 1714, already quoted, for the appointment of elders, was subsequently explained by another minute to apply to both sexes, and women as well as men were accordingly appointed to that service by the Monthly Meetings.

The term for which elders were appointed was not mentioned in the Yearly Meeting's minute, nor was the power of removal by Monthly Meetings expressly stated. These questions will be found important in the prosecution of this examination, and can best be determined by reference to the usage which ensued under the rule. If any of the Monthly Meetings appointed elders for a limited term, or exercised the right of removing them from their stations, we may conclude that the power they exercised was then conceded.

The first appointment made by Middletown Monthly Meeting, Bucks County, was in the 12th month, 1714. The minute reads as follows: "This meeting doth appoint Thomas Baynes and John Penquite (according

[1] Balt. Y. M., Book of Disc. as adopted in 1806.

to the order of the Yearly Meeting) to sit with the ministers in their meetings; and that there be a new election *every year or oftener*, if there be occasion."[1] In the 7th month, 1729, the same meeting placed on record, that Thomas Baynes being removed from among them, they appointed John Wildman along with Adam Harker, "to serve in his stead *until further orders.*"[2] From 1730 the Middletown records contain no expressed limitation of the term for which elders were appointed.

Falls Monthly Meeting, held 11th mo. 1714, made its first appointment of elders without expressing in the minute any limitation as to their term of service. And in the 11th month, 1726, two of the elders formerly appointed having, "through age," grown weak and infirm, and not "well able to travel," two others "were appointed in their places."[3]

Newark Monthly Meeting, (since called Kennet,) and Concord Monthly Meeting, both of which belonged to a Quarterly Meeting then called Chester, sometimes made their appointment of elders without limitation, but at other times they were appointed "to *serve till further orders.*"

At Concord Monthly Meeting, in the year 1778, a minute was made as follows: "This meeting having some time ago recommended to the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, Hannah Carter as an elder, do now discontinue her from being a member thereof." The same Monthly Meeting, in the year 1782, reinstated Hannah Carter in the sta-

[1] Middletown M. M. Records, A., p. 122.

[2] Ibid. p. 233.

[3] Falls Records, 1st Vol. to 1731.

tion of an elder, at the request of Birmingham Preparative Meeting.[1]

In 1777, a member of Concord Monthly Meeting, having violated a rule of discipline, made an acknowledgment for the offence, which was accepted; but he being at the time an elder, was removed from that station by the Monthly Meeting, and information thereof given to the Select Meeting.

The Monthly Meeting of Buckingham, from 1720 to 1746, expressed in its minutes on the appointment of elders no limitation as to time, but in the latter year a Friend was appointed to that station, "till further appointments."

These selections are sufficient to show that the power to remove elders from their stations was exercised by the Monthly Meetings, when they deemed it expedient, which, however, was seldom the case. The Yearly Meeting's minute of 1714, recommending the appointment of elders, directs that Monthly Meetings shall take care that the Friends chosen for that service "do carefully discharge their trust," which was doubtless understood to imply that they might be removed from the station, if their trusts were not properly and faithfully discharged.

In 1806, a rule of discipline was adopted, which, without abridging the power of Monthly Meetings to deal with ministers and elders, requires the Select Meetings to extend timely and tender care over them, provided their cases have not been taken up by a "*meeting for discipline.*" The minute reads as follows: "If any acknowledged member of our Meetings of Ministers and Elders shall at any time be thought, by negligence, unfaithfulness,

[1] Michener's Retrospect, p. 172.

or otherwise, to have lost his or her service in that station, so as to become burthensome and the subject of uneasiness, (yet not so as to be under the care of a meeting of discipline on that account, or for misconduct,) it is advised that a timely and tender care be extended to such person, according to gospel order: first by the individuals concerned, and then by the Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders to which he or she may belong. Should these labours prove unavailing, report of the case should be made to the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, where a few Friends should be deputed to assist the said Preparative Meeting in a further extension of labour with the party; if this also prove unavailing, and on report thereof to the said Quarterly Meeting, it appears that the said Preparative Meeting has fully discharged its duty to the individual, the case should then be transmitted to the Monthly Meeting for Discipline of which the party is a member, and left under its care, and he or she ought from that time to refrain from attending any such meetings until they shall again be recommended or appointed as at first."[1]

On examination of the clause in *parentheses* it will appear that the Select Meetings cannot interfere with any case where a minister or elder is under the care of a *meeting of discipline* for misconduct, or on account of having become burdensome through "negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise."

This rule of discipline was doubtless intended to provide a method of exercising a tender care over ministers and elders without unnecessary exposure, in order to reconcile differences and prevent the dis-

[1] Book of Discip., Balt. Y. M., 1806.

cord that might arise from the discussion of their cases in the Monthly meetings. But it does not deprive the meetings for discipline of original jurisdiction in such cases, and certainly never was intended to screen ministers and elders from being dealt with by Monthly meetings when occasion required it. In the progress of this examination it will be seen that the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in Philadelphia denied the authority of a Monthly Meeting to remove some of its elders from office when they had ceased to be in unity with it, thus interfering with the business of a meeting for discipline in violation of a rule established by the Yearly Meeting.

MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

The institution of a Meeting for Sufferings by the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey has already been noticed.[1]

It was designed, as its name indicates, to relieve the sufferings of Friends, who at that time were exposed, in the frontier settlements, to the ravages of war. Its functions were afterwards enlarged, and its power being long continued in the same hands, continued to increase until it became an institution of great importance, and exercised a controlling influence. As some of the disturbances in the Society originated in the action of this body, the nature of its functions and the extent of its power demand our attention.

In the year 1756, a committee appointed by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, recommended that a fund be raised for the relief of suffering Friends, and that

[1] History of Friends, Vol. III. Chap. XII.

it be placed under the care of a committee twelve of whom should be nominated by the Yearly Meeting and four by each of the Quarterly meetings. The recommendation was adopted by the meeting, as was also the following clause of the report, viz.:—

"That the services proposed to be transacted by them be: To hear and consider the cases of any Friends under suffering, especially such as suffer from the Indians or other enemies, and to administer such relief as they may find necessary, or to apply to government or persons in power on their behalf. To correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings, or the Yearly Meeting of London; and to represent the state of the affairs of Friends here; and in general, to represent this meeting, and appear in all cases where the reputation of Truth and our religious Society are concerned; provided that they *do not meddle with matters of faith or discipline*, not already determined in this Yearly Meeting; and that at least twelve should concur on all occasions; and that in matters of great importance, notice be given or sent to all the members of the committee."[1]

Such was the origin of the Meeting for Sufferings, or Representative Committee, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It was at the same time intrusted, by a minute of the Yearly Meeting, with the care and application of charitable legacies and donations, and required to give advice, when needed, concerning the titles of land or other estate belonging to the several meetings.

The Yearly Meeting of 1757 adopted the following minute: "The minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings

[1] MS. Book of Discipline, 1762.

having been read," * * * * "it is unanimously agreed that the said meeting should be continued, and that the Friends nominated last year be continued members of that meeting; who in conjunction with those chosen by the several Quarterly meetings, shall be and continue the Meeting for Sufferings until the respective Quarterly meetings shall *nominate and appoint others in the rooms or places of those chosen by them last year.*"[1]

Buck's Quarterly Meeting, in the 11th month, same year, after noticing on its records the foregoing minute, continued two, and appointed two other Friends, as representatives "for the ensuing year."

For some years after the institution of the Meeting for Sufferings, the Yearly Meeting adopted *each year* a minute for its continuance, "as at *present constituted, reserving to each Quarterly meeting the right of changing any of the members in the places where they were respectively nominated.*" Or, as expressed in another of the minutes, "reserving to the Quarterly meetings the right of changing any of their members when they think proper."[2] The Yearly Meeting, in 1764, directed, that "when there is an apparent neglect of the members nominated by the Yearly Meeting, the said Meeting for Sufferings is authorized to appoint other Friends in the room of such, if, after seasonable admonition, they continue to neglect or decline attending; and to acquaint the Quarterly meetings respectively, where they observe any nominated to represent them continue neglectful of giving proper attendance, in order *that such Quarterly meetings may appoint others.*"

[1] Michener's Retrospect, p. 33, and Yearly Extracts, 1757.

[2] Minutes of Phila. Yearly Meeting, 1757 to 1762 inclusive.

In the year 1768, the following minute was adopted by the Yearly Meeting: "The proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings for the year past being read and approved, it is agreed to continue that meeting *agreeable to former minutes*, until this meeting may think it necessary *to order the contrary.*"

Thenceforward the Meeting for Sufferings was considered a standing committee, responsible to the Yearly Meeting for its proceedings; but the right of the Quarterly meetings to change their representatives in it when they thought proper, was never taken from them nor relinquished. Some of the Quarterly meetings most distant from the city of Philadelphia, generally appointed for their representatives Friends residing in or near the City for the sake of convenience in attending; thus the power of this body, being concentrated within a narrow compass, and long continued in the same hands, gave rise to a feeling of independence and self-importance which ultimately led the ruling members of that body to maintain that they were appointed for life and could not be removed by the Quarterly meetings.

CHAPTER XI.

ELIAS HICKS AND THE PHILADELPHIA ELDERS.

On entering upon the investigation of the transactions that led to the Separation of Friends in America, it is proper to state, that our chief reliance for evidence of the facts will be the testimony, oral and documentary, given "in a cause at issue in the Court

of Chancery of the State of New Jersey."[1] In relation to these witnesses, it was observed by Chief Justice Ewing: "In their opinions, in their inferences, in their feelings, we observe, as might be expected, a difference among the witnesses, but it is pleasing to meet with no such collision of facts, as to render necessary the delicate and arduous duty of weighing and comparing evidence."[2]

The witnesses on both sides were men of good moral character, and doubtless intended to state the truth under the solemn sanction of an affirmation; but inasmuch as all men are liable to be misinformed by others, or misled by their own excited feelings, it is deemed necessary to compare the testimony of the opposite parties on all important points.

The doctrinal views of Elias Hicks having been examined in a preceding chapter, and deduced from his own writings and printed discourses, it is not deemed requisite to notice the statements of his adversaries on this point, further than may be needful in the investigation of facts. It appears from the testimony of two of the opponents of Elias Hicks,—Thos. Willis, a minister, residing at Jericho, Long Island, and Samuel Parsons, of Flushing, clerk of New York Yearly Meeting,—that they had for many years been in the practice of noting down expressions of Elias Hicks, which they heard in his public ministry.[3] These isolated expressions not being written immediately on their utterance, but from memory, and separated from the context, were liable to be

[1] Foster's Report, Phila. 1831.

[2] Report of the Trenton Trial, Phil. 1834, p. 11.

[3] Testimony of T. Willis, Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 160, 161, and of Samuel Parsons, Vol. I. 173, 174, 201.

misapprehended, and were doubtless made use of greatly to the prejudice of the speaker. In addition to this ungenerous method of treasuring up, from year to year, scraps of doctrinal matter deemed heretical, Thomas Willis and his wife entered into a correspondence with Elias Hicks under a profession of religious concern for his welfare. The first letter of Phebe Willis was answered by Elias Hicks in the year 1818, the second in 1820, and he answered a letter of Thomas Willis in 1821. "A number of weeks" after the reception of Elias Hicks' letter, Thomas Willis proposed to him a friendly interview, to which Elias agreed, and requested that his letter should be brought to him, as he had no copy of it. Thomas Willis brought the letter as requested, but confesses that he took the liberty of keeping a copy without the consent of the writer. He then said, "Shall we exchange letters?"[1] Elias assented: giving up the letters of Willis, and receiving his own, but was not aware that a copy had been kept for secret service.

The letter of Elias Hicks to Thomas Willis, thus surreptitiously obtained, was circulated among the orthodox party without his knowledge, and printed without asking his consent. When he discovered the course that had been pursued towards him, he very justly accused Thomas Willis of "treachery."

The first open manifestation of disrespect to Elias Hicks on the part of elders in Philadelphia occurred in the year 1819. He was then on his return from Ohio Yearly Meeting, and having attended a meeting at Darby, several Friends residing there went to

[1] Testimony of T. Willis, Vol. I. p. 111. Ibid. p. 119.

the city, and attended with him the Monthly Meeting at Pine Street. He delivered some close doctrine to those who stood as rulers and leaders among the people. "They were," he said, "going round and round as it were, like the children of Israel, and not advancing forward; and he called on the young people in a very affectionate manner not to rest in the traditions of their fathers, but to go forward and advance the work of reformation." He was very earnest in his opposition to slavery, and had long borne a faithful testimony against the use of the produce of slave-labor. On this occasion he was pointed in his remarks on that subject, and intimated that there were some who had not stood faithful in the maintenance of this testimony which they had at some former period supported. Having spoken in the men's meeting, he expressed a concern that he felt to visit the women Friends in their meeting for discipline. Jonathan Evans, an elder of that meeting, expressed some disapprobation of it; but a large number of Friends expressed their full unity with his being left at liberty, and he accordingly went. Isaac Lloyd, an elder, was appointed to go with him. They had not been long in the women's apartment, when a proposition was made by Jonathan Evans to adjourn the meeting, alleging that they were not qualified, he thought, to proceed with the business, and said that it had been a very trying or painful meeting to him. Several Friends expressed their disapprobation of adjourning while Elias was engaged in the women's meeting, it being considered an unusual, if not an unprecedented proceeding. There were, however, a few who concurred with

Jonathan Evans, and the meeting was accordingly adjourned.[1]

This transaction, being considered an affront offered to Elias Hicks, produced a great excitement, and although it may appear unimportant in itself, yet it developed feelings of jealousy and distrust that continued to increase and spread among Friends.

In order to account for the extraordinary course pursued by Jonathan Evans, it was remarked that he had recently felt himself relieved from his scruples in regard "to the produce of slave-labor, after having abstained from it for many years, and that he felt aggrieved by the severe rebuke administered by Elias Hicks." It is, however, always unsafe, and often unjust, to resort to conjecture for the motives of human conduct. The course pursued by Jonathan Evans in relation to slave-grown produce was similar to that of John Comly, as recorded in his Journal. He felt it his duty for many years to abstain from the use of West India produce cultivated by slave-labor, but afterwards felt relieved from his scruples in this respect, and came to the conclusion that the burden had been laid upon him for the discipline of his own mind, and that it had been salutary.[2] Being conscious of the purity of his own motives, he was willing that others should exercise their Christian freedom, and was therefore not wounded by the strictures of Elias Hicks, who, as early as the year 1811, had published his "Observations on Slavery," maintaining that it was principally supported "by the

[1] Testimony of Halliday Jackson (an eye-witness). Foster's Report, Vol. II. pp. 39, 40.

[2] J. C's Journal, p. 39.

purchasers and consumers of the produce of the slaves' labor."

The next demonstration of hostility to Elias Hicks by the elders in Philadelphia was in the 9th month, 1822.

It appears from the testimony of Abraham Lower, corroborated by that of Joseph Whitall, an Orthodox minister, that at an unofficial meeting of a part of the members of the Meeting for Sufferings, after that meeting had adjourned, measures were devised to obstruct the religious labors of Elias Hicks, on account of alleged false doctrines that he had declared three *months before in his own Yearly Meeting* of New York.

Abraham Lower, a minister of the Society, and a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, being questioned, testified as follows: "I was about to enter the meeting-house at the time appointed for our convening, when Samuel Bettle, who stood at the door, or just outside, desired me, in a low tone of voice so that I could understand it, to 'stop at the rise of the meeting.' I left him there and passed in as usual. At the close of that meeting, a number, I suppose ten or twelve of us, were convened;—after sitting a little while quiet, Jonathan Evans rose, as I understood, and stated the object of the meeting pretty much in these words, to the best of my recollection: 'It is understood that Elias Hicks is coming on here, on his way to Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Friends know that he preaches doctrines contrary to the doctrines of our Society, that he has given uneasiness to his friends at home, and they can't stop him; and unless we can stop him here, he must go on.' Joseph Whitall remarked, in corroboration of that assertion of the unity of his friends at home,—

of their difficulty of stopping him, I should say,— that his own Monthly meeting and Quarterly meeting, and two thirds of the Yearly meeting were with him."[1]

Joseph Whitall testifies: "There were a few Friends, Ministers and Elders, who did stop together after the rise of the Meeting for Sufferings, I think in Ninth month of that year, and had the subject of Elias's unsoundness discussed a little amongst them. A very short statement was given, both by Richard Jordan and myself, of what we knew of our own knowledge — what we had heard him declare."[2]

On this information, two or three elders were named to wait on Elias Hicks, when he should arrive in the city, although it was well known that he was travelling with the approbation of his Monthly and Quarterly meetings, and bearing their credentials with him.

This irregular and unwarrantable proceeding shows, on the part of those ministers and elders who were engaged in it, a usurpation of power then without precedent in the Society. The Book of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting contained the following rule: "If any in the course of their ministry shall misapply, or draw unsound inferences, or wrong conclusions from the text, or shall misbehave themselves in point of conduct or conversation, let them be admonished in love and tenderness by the elders or overseers *where they live.*"

It was not stated that Elias Hicks had preached unsound doctrines in Philadelphia, — the alleged heresies had been uttered in the time of the Yearly

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 355, 356. [2] Ibid. I. p. 247.

Meeting in New York; his fellow-members there had not objected, and he received from his Monthly and Quarterly meetings, some months after, a clear certificate to travel as a minister.

The attempt proved abortive:—he pursued his way to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, where his labors in gospel ministry both in meetings for worship and those for discipline were deemed edifying, and acknowledged to be acceptable to Friends.[1] After leaving Baltimore he attended the Southern Quarterly Meeting held at Little Creek, Delaware, and thence he proceeded to Philadelphia.

There were in attendance at the Southern Quarterly Meeting Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, members of another Quarter, who took exceptions to some of the sentiments expressed by Elias Hicks at a public meeting for worship. Instead of making known their objections to him, in a friendly manner, agreeably to gospel order, they went to some of the elders of Philadelphia and reported what they deemed his unsound doctrines. In this they committed two errors: first, in not asking a private interview with him; secondly, in reporting the case to those who had no authority to notice it, for according to discipline and usage, the elders of the Southern Quarterly Meeting in attendance, if they were dissatisfied with his doctrines, were the only ones authorized to treat with him in that case.

It appears, however, that some of the elders in Philadelphia, being already prejudiced against Elias Hicks, and not at all reluctant to exercise their power, were determined to have an interview with

[1] Testimony of Halliday Jackson.

him in relation to the charges made by Comfort and Bell, as well as the allegations of Joseph Whitall respecting his discourses in New York.[1]

Soon after his arrival in the city of Philadelphia, he was waited on by a committee of elders, supposed to be those who were designated after the close of the Meeting for Sufferings in the 9th month previous. As the charges they brought related to sentiments alleged to have been uttered without the limits of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, he denied their authority to question him, but on their assuring him they came in love as brethren, he was willing to answer them, and they went away apparently satisfied.[2] Whatever report they may have made of the interview, it does not appear to have satisfied the other elders, who persisted in their determination to interrogate him further. For this purpose, the male elders from the five Monthly Meetings in Philadelphia were summoned to meet in an official capacity, and ten of them demanded an interview. Elias Hicks denied their authority to question him in regard to matters that occurred beyond their jurisdiction, but offered to produce certificates expressive of the unity and concurrence of his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings with him in his present service. In compliance, however, with the advice of some of his friends, he agreed to meet the elders in Green Street Meeting-house. As his accusers intended to bring witnesses to endeavor to sustain their charges, he deemed it expedient and proper to have some of his friends with him, and was accordingly accompanied

[1] Test. of J. Whitall, Foster, I. 247.

[2] Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 416.

by John Comly, Robert Moore, John Moore, John Hunt, and others, some of whom had been at the Southern Quarterly Meeting, and could give evidence in the case.[1] The elders denied him the privilege of bringing any of his friends with him; not even those ministers and elders then in the city from the country meeting, who had full as much right as themselves to be present. One of the ten elders suggested that they desired a private opportunity with Elias Hicks, and added, that unless it was private they would have none. Abraham Lower, a minister of Green Street Meeting, thought their proposition unreasonable, and remarked, that as Elias Hicks was then performing family visits to the members of Green Street Monthly Meeting, some of them, who were present, thought themselves concerned in the case; but he had no doubt that all of them, except the ministers and elders, would withdraw if desired.[2] One of the accusing elders replied, that unless all withdrew but Elias and his companion, *they* would withdraw. Elias objected to the proposition, called upon them to bring forward their charges, said he was ready to hear them, and justly complained that he had been cruelly treated. One of his accusers stated that they should take the charges for granted; and Elias, having understood the nature of them through some other channel, declared they were false. The self-constituted committee of elders then withdrew, and soon after, a deputation of them waited on two of the elders of Green Street Meeting in order to dissuade them from assisting Elias Hicks in the prosecution

[1] Cockburn's Review, p. 66.

[2] Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 359, 416.

of his visit; but they had the magnanimity to discourage such disorderly interference. He accomplished his visit to nearly all the families of that meeting, and then attended the Monthly Meeting, where an indorsement of approbation and unity with his religious labors was placed on his certificate, which was done without a dissenting voice.[1]

Elias Hicks, though firm in his resolutions and dignified in his deportment, was remarkable for the tenderness of his feelings, and the humility of his character. One of his accusers, Joseph Whitall, on being cross-examined, admitted that Elias in one of their interviews wept on account of the difference in their views, and the sad consequences that might ensue.[2] And Halliday Jackson, in his testimony, states that being at Baltimore Yearly Meeting in the year 1822, and having heard of the account that had been circulated by Joseph Whitall, he took an early opportunity to obtain an interview with Elias Hicks, which was readily granted. On being informed of those charges, Elias said he was surprised that his friends in Philadelphia should be carried away with such tales. "He gave me," says the witness, "such explanations of the conversation that took place between him and Joseph Whitall, as fully satisfied my mind on the subject, and amounted to a denial of the charges and the manner in which this conversation had been represented." * * * * "We had a good deal of friendly conversation together; finding the openness and candor of the man, I was entirely satisfied as to any impressions which the spreading of

[1] Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 360.
[2] Foster's Report, I. 246.

this report had had upon my mind. I made some apologies to him for the freedom I had used with him, being a young man to what he was; but he expressed much satisfaction that I had taken that liberty; and his esteem, I believe, for me, was rather increased by it."[1]

The following correspondence and certificates will explain the nature of the charges then made against Elias Hicks, and the refutation of them by himself and his friends.

LETTER FROM THE TEN ELDERS TO ELIAS HICKS.

"To ELIAS HICKS.

"Friends in Philadelphia having for a considerable time past heard of thy holding and promulgating doctrines different from, and repugnant to those held by our religious Society, it was cause of uneasiness and deep concern to them, as their sincere regard and engagement for the promotion of the cause of truth made it very desirable that all the members of our religious society should move in true harmony under the leading and direction of our Blessed Redeemer: upon being informed of thy sentiments expressed by Joseph Whitall: that Jesus Christ was not the Son of God, until after the baptism of John, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that he was no more than a man; that the same power that made Christ a Christian must make us Christians; and that the same power that saved him must save us; many Friends were affected therewith, and some time afterwards, several Friends being together in the city on subjects relating to our religious society, they received an account from

[1] Foster's Report, II. 40, 41.

Ezra Comfort, of some of thy expressions in the public general meeting immediately succeeding the Southern Quarterly Meeting lately held in the State of Delaware, which was also confirmed by his companion, Isaiah Bell: that Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the gospel dispensation; the Jews being under the outward and ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary that there should be some outward miracle, as the healing of the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the gospel dispensation; he had no more power given him than man, for he was no more than man; he had nothing to do with the healing of the soul, for that belongs to God only; Elisha had the same power to raise the dead; that man being obedient to the Spirit of God, in him could arrive at as great or greater degree of righteousness than Jesus Christ; that Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God, neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God; then endeavoured to show that by attending to that stone cut out of the mountain without hands, or the seed in man, it would make man equal with God, saying, for that stone in man was the entire God. On hearing which, it appeared to Friends a subject of such great importance and of such deep interest to the welfare of our religious society, as to require an extension of care, in order that if any incorrect statement had been made it should as soon as possible be rectified, or if true, thou might be possessed of the painful concerns of Friends, and their sense and judgment thereon. Two of the elders accordingly waited on thee on the evening of the day of thy arriving in the city, and although thou denied the statement, yet thy declining to meet these two

elders in company with those who made it, left the minds of Friends without relief: one of the elders who had called on thee repeated his visit on the next day but one, and again requested thee to see the two elders and the Friends who made the above statements, which thou again declined. The elders from the different monthly meetings in the city were then convened, and requested a private opportunity with thee, which thou also refused, yet the next day consented to meet them at a time and place of thy own fixing; but when assembled, a mixed company being collected, the elders could not in this manner enter into business which they considered of a nature not to be investigated in any other way than in a select private opportunity; they therefore considered that meeting a clear indication of thy continuing to decline to meet the elders, as by them proposed. Under these circumstances it appearing that thou art not willing to hear and disprove the charges brought against thee, we feel it a duty to declare that we cannot have religious unity with thy conduct, nor with the doctrines thou art charged with promulgating.

"Signed, 12th month 19th, 1822.,

CALEB PIERCE,
LEONARD SNOWDEN,
JOSEPH SCATTERGOOD,
SAML. P. GRIFFETHS,
T. STEWARDSON,
EDWARD RANDOLPH,
ISRAEL MAULE,
ELLIS YARNELL,
RICHARD HUMPHRIES,
THOMAS WISTAR."

ANSWER OF ELIAS HICKS.

"To Caleb Pierce, and other Friends.

"Having been charged by you of unsoundness of principle and doctrine, founded on reports spread among the people in an unfriendly manner, and contrary to the order of our discipline, by Joseph Whitall, as stated in the letter from you, dated the 19th inst.; and as these charges are not literally true, being founded on his own forced and improper construction of my words, I deny them; and as I do not consider myself amenable to him, nor to any other for crimes laid to my charge as being committed in the course of the sittings of our last Yearly Meeting, as not any of my fellow-members of that meeting discovered or noticed any such things, which I presume to be the case, as not an individual has mentioned any such things to me, but contrary thereto many of our most valuable Friends (who had heard some of those foul reports first promulgated by an individual of our city) acknowledged the great satisfaction they had with my services and exercise in the course of that meeting, and were fully convinced that all those reports were false, and this view is fully confirmed by a certificate granted me by the Monthly and Quarterly meetings of which I am a member, in which they express their full unity with me, and which meetings were held a considerable time after our Yearly Meeting, in the course of which Joseph Whitall has presumed to charge me with unsoundness of doctrine contrary to the sense of the Yearly, Quarterly and Monthly meetings, of which I am a member, and to whom only I hold myself amenable for all conduct transacted within their limits. The other charges against me made by

Ezra Comfort, as expressed in your letter, are in the general incorrect, as is proved by the annexed certificate; and moreover, as Ezra Comfort has departed from gospel order, in not mentioning his uneasiness to me, when present with me, and when I could have appealed to Friends of that meeting to have justified me, therefore I consider Ezra Comfort to have acted disorderly and contrary to discipline, and these are the reasons which induced me to refuse a compliance with your requisitions, as considering them arbitrary and contrary to the established order of our Society. ELIAS HICKS."[1]

"*Philadelphia*, 12th month 21st, 1822.

"We, the undersigned, being occasionally in the city of Philadelphia, where a letter was produced and handed to us, signed by ten of the citizens, elders of the Society of Friends, and directed to Elias Hicks, after perusing and deliberately considering the charges made therein against him, for holding and propagating doctrines inconsistent with our religious testimonies, and more especially those said by Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell to be held forth at a meeting immediately succeeding the late Southern Quarterly Meeting, and we being members of the Southern Quarter, and present at the said meeting, are free to state for the satisfaction of the first-mentioned Friends and all others whom it may concern, that we apprehend the charges exhibited by the two Friends named are without substantial foundation, and in order to give a clear view we think it best and proper here to transcribe the said charges exhibited, and our understanding of them severally,

[1] Foster's Report, II, 492. Exhibit 81, produced by Thos. Evans.

viz.: 'That Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the gospel dispensation, the Jews being under an outward ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary there should be some outward miracles, as healing the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the gospel dispensation;' this is substantially correct:— 'That he had no more power given him than man, for he was no more than man;' this sentence is incorrect, as also that he had nothing to do with healing the soul, for that belonged to God only,' is likewise incorrect;—and the next sentence, 'That Elisha had the same power to raise the dead,' should be transposed thus to give his expression: 'by the same power it was that Elisha raised the dead.' 'That man by being obedient to the spirit of God in him, could arrive at as great or greater degrees of righteousness than Jesus Christ,' this is incorrect. 'That Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' with annexing the other part of the paragraph mentioned by the holy apostle, would be correct. 'Neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God,' is incorrect. 'Then endeavouring to show that by attending to that stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands, or the seed in man, it would make him equal with God,' is incorrect. The sentence, 'for that stone in man was the entire God,' should stand thus: 'That this stone, or seed in man had all the attributes of the Divine nature that was in Christ and God.'

"This statement and few necessary remarks we make without comment, save only, that we were then of opinion, and still are, that the sentiments and doctrines held forth by our said Friend Elias Hicks were

agreeable to the opinions and doctrines held forth by George Fox, and our worthy predecessors of his time.

ROBERT MOORE,
JOSEPH TURNER,
JOSEPH G. ROWLAND."[1]

This certificate was subsequently corroborated by another, signed by twenty-two members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting.

Nine of the elders wrote another letter to Elias Hicks, dated Phila., 1st month 4th, 1823, expressing their continued disapprobation of his doctrines, and Jonathan Evans appended a few lines expressing his concurrence with "their concern and care."[2]

The conduct of Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, in relation to the charges against Elias Hicks, being brought before the Monthly Meeting to which they belonged, they were dealt with as the discipline requires, and being unwilling to acknowledge their error, were disowned. They appealed to Abington Quarterly Meeting, and the judgment of the Monthly Meeting was confirmed. They then appealed to the Yearly Meeting, and were reinstated.[3]

NOTE.

There is a remarkable analogy between the course pursued by the elders in Philadelphia towards Elias Hicks, and that which was subsequently pursued by orthodox ministers and elders in New England towards Joseph John Gurney. When this distinguished English Friend visited the United States in the year 1837, he brought with him full credentials from the Monthly and Quar-

[1] Foster's Report, II. 492. Exhibit No. 82, produced by T. Evans.

[2] Cockburn's Review, 76 to 79. [3] Foster's Rep., I. 367.

terly meetings to which he belonged, and a clear certificate from the London Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, expressing their unity with him and his concern, and stating that he was a minister in unity and well approved amongst them. While engaged in his religious mission in New England, in the year 1838, John Wilbur, a minister of the Society, charged him with having published unsound doctrines *in England*, and not being satisfied with his answer, proceeded both by oral and written communications to caution Friends against receiving or imbibing his sentiments.

The course pursued by John Wilbur being considered disorderly, he was dealt with as an offender against the discipline, and disowned. A large majority of New England Yearly Meeting concurred in this measure, but a schism ensued, and the smaller body, adhering to John Wilbur, established a separate Yearly Meeting, which was subsequently associated in religious fellowship with other bodies of the same class that became detached from some of the Orthodox Yearly meetings to which the schism extended.

CHAPTER XII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS, PHILADELPHIA.

One of the subjects introduced into the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia was a doctrinal controversy, over the signatures of Paul and Amicus, printed in a periodical paper at Wilmington, Delaware. The doctrines of Friends being attacked by Paul, were defended by Amicus in a very able manner, as was generally thought; and at the close of the controversy, the essays on both sides were reprinted in a book, which was patronized by a large number of Friends.

In the summer or autumn of the year 1822, several

numbers of the periodical, containing this controversy, were produced in the Meeting for Sufferings, and some of the members of that meeting expressed an apprehension that the doctrines of Friends were not correctly stated by Amicus.[1] Abraham Lower informed the Friend, who wrote over the signature of Amicus, that objections had been made to his essays, and he promptly determined to relieve the members of the Society from any anxiety on that head, by assuming the responsibility himself individually, and exonerating the Society. A notice to this effect was inserted in one of the numbers of the paper in which the controversy was published. This notice was presented to Jonathan Evans, clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, who read it to the meeting.[2]

It would seem that this declaration ought to have satisfied reasonable men, but some of the members of the Meeting for Sufferings desired the appointment of a committee to bring forward a suitable minute to be inserted in the volume of essays about to be published.

A committee was accordingly appointed, who produced a minute disavowing any connection with the writing or publication of those essays. They also brought forward in the First month, 1823, a paper purporting to be "Extracts from the Writings of Primitive Friends concerning the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[3] The minute thus produced was agreed to by the meeting, but the publisher of the book refused to insert it. The extracts,

[1] Testimony of Joseph Whitall. Foster's Rep. I. 216.

[2] Test. of A. Lower, Foster, I. 368.

[3] Foster's Report, II. 414, 476, and Testimony of W. Evans, Vol. II. p. 329.

when read in the Meeting for Sufferings, were opposed by some of the members, under an apprehension that they might be used to abridge the right of private judgment.[1] They were, moreover, in a very objectionable form; no references being given to show whence they were taken, and no quotation-marks affixed, except to the texts of Scripture included. It has since been stated that the extracts were garbled, some of them being parts of sentences, with no clew to guide the reader in searching for the context. Notwithstanding the objections urged against the document, it was passed, and a large edition ordered to be printed. It was printed but not distributed, as had been expected.

When the Yearly Meeting came on, in the Spring of 1823, the proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings were read as usual; but what was the surprise of the members to find the whole of those extracts copied into the minutes and read in the Yearly Meeting.

The design of the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings appeared to be, to obtain for them the sanction of the Yearly Meeting without further examination, and thus have them established as a standard of doctrines.

The reading of them produced a great excitement in the Yearly Meeting, and a substantial Friend from the country exclaimed, "Who hath required this at your hands?"[2] Very great dissatisfaction was expressed by a large number of Friends, who desired that the extracts should be expunged, but the clerk objected that it would deface the minutes, and it was

[1] Test. of A. Lower. Foster, I. 368, 369, 463.

[2] Testimony of Halliday Jackson, Foster, II. 102.

finally agreed that the pamphlet should not be published.[1]

The document thus suppressed by order of the Yearly Meeting, was popularly called "*the creed.*"

It had, for many years, been the practice of some of the Quarterly meetings most distant from the city of Philadelphia, to appoint for their representatives in the Meeting for Sufferings, persons living in or near the city, for the sake of convenience in attending its sittings. The Southern Quarterly Meeting, situated in Delaware and the Eastern shore of Maryland, had been for some years represented by Abraham Lower, Caleb Pierce, Isaac Lloyd, and Joseph Turner. In the 5th month, 1826, Abraham Lower attended that Quarterly Meeting and proposed that, as he had been one of their representatives for ten or twelve years, they should make a new nomination. Joseph Turner also requested to be released. The Quarterly Meeting agreed to the proposal, concluded to release all their representatives, and appointed a committee to bring forward the names of suitable persons to represent them in the Meeting for Sufferings. They nominated for that service Abraham Lower, Dr. Joseph Parrish, Dr. John Wilson Moore of Philadelphia, and Halliday Jackson of Darby. The last three were known to be thoroughly opposed to the proceedings of the elders in Philadelphia, and when they attended the Meeting for Sufferings, that body refused to acknowledge their appointment. Being denied the right to sit in the meeting, they were under the necessity of withdrawing.

This action of the Meeting for Sufferings was un-

[1] Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster, I. 368.

precedented in the Society, and was regarded by many as a confirmation of the suspicion they had for some years entertained, that there was in that meeting a strong party determined to govern without regard to the wishes of their constituents.[1]

One of the most remarkable features of this case was, that Caleb Pierce and Isaac Lloyd, two of the representatives formerly appointed by the Southern Quarter, presented to the Meeting for Sufferings a remonstrance against their being released from that station.[2] A committee was thereupon appointed to attend the Southern Quarterly Meeting and confer with it in relation to the appointment of its representatives. At a subsequent meeting, the committee reported attention to the service, and stated that "the Quarterly Meeting declined appointing a committee or in any way explaining their views on the subject."[3]

The positions taken by the Meeting for Sufferings and its committee, for rejecting the three representatives recently appointed, were as follows:—

1st. That the entire revision of its representation by a Quarterly meeting was unprecedented.

2d. That no vacancy had occurred; for the only cases that constitute a vacancy, according to the discipline, are death, resignation, or neglect of attendance.

3d. That no change in the rule of the Society could be made, but by the Yearly Meeting, and that, two years before, a proposal to consider the expediency of *all* appointments being for a limited time, was regularly brought up from one of the Quarters,

[1] Testimony of A. Lower, Foster, I. 370. [2] Ibid.
[3] Extracts from Minutes of M. for Suf., Foster, II. p. 477.

and on consideration the Yearly Meeting decided that way did not open to make the proposed change."[1]

In reply to these allegations, the following facts and considerations are submitted.

1st. For some years after the institution of the Meeting for Sufferings, the Yearly Meeting adopted, *each year*, a minute stating in substance; that it was continued, as then constituted, "reserving to each Quarterly Meeting the right of changing any of the members in the places where they were respectively nominated." Or, as expressed in one of the minutes, "reserving to the Quarterly meetings the right of changing their members when they think proper."[2] In 1768, the following minute was adopted by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia: "The proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings for the year past being read and approved, it is agreed to continue that meeting, *agreeable to former minutes*, until this meeting may think it necessary to *order the contrary*."[3]

As the Yearly Meeting has never *ordered the contrary*, the conclusion is unquestionable that the Meeting for Sufferings has been continued *according to former minutes*, securing the rights of the Quarterly meetings to change their representatives when they think proper.

The institution of the Meeting for Sufferings took place in the year 1756; and Buck's Quarterly Meeting appointed that year four representatives. The next year, it continued two of these in that station, and appointed *two others* as representatives "for the

[1] Exhibit No. 47, Foster's Rep. II. 477.

[2] Minutes of Phila. Y. M., 1757 to 1762 inclusive.

[3] See Chapter X. on Discipline.

ensuing year." It is most probable that many such cases might be found on the records of the Quarterly meetings; but here is at least one precedent, showing that the right of changing the representatives of the Quarters was exercised.

It appears to have been the general practice of the Quarterly meetings to continue their representatives in the Meeting for Sufferings until they resigned or were removed by death, but they never relinquished the right to release them and appoint others; nor does this right appear to have been called in question until the Southern Quarter undertook to release those who did not truly represent its sentiments.[1]

2d. In reply to the second position, that there was no vacancy, it may be stated, that one of the former members, Joseph Turner, did resign, and Abraham Lower, another, requested, as he had served for ten or twelve years, that there might be a new nomination.

3d. And as to the third position, which relates to a change of discipline, it is obvious that no alteration was needed to enable the Quarterly meetings to change their representatives, for this right was guaranteed to them by the Yearly Meeting and had never been revoked. The proposition alluded to, which contemplated making all appointments for a limited time, and which the Yearly Meeting did not adopt, has no bearing on the question; for when the Meeting for Sufferings was first instituted, the members were not required by discipline to be appointed for a limited time, and yet the Quarterly meetings had the right to remove them without assigning any reason.

[1] Testimony of Halliday Jackson, Foster's Rep. II. 97 to 101.

The attempt of the Meeting for Sufferings to impose upon the Society the declaration of faith inserted in its minutes and read in the Yearly Meeting, had awakened in the minds of many Friends a painful distrust of its ulterior purposes; and when it subsequently took the bold stand of denying to a Quarterly Meeting the right to change its representatives, there were thousands who felt that their religious liberty was in danger.

The growing importance of that meeting, and the encroachments that might be apprehended from it, had long been seen by some sagacious minds; and one of its members, in the latter part of the last century, had left on record a warning of the danger. David Cooper, of Woodbury Monthly Meeting, who died in 1795, at the age of 71 years, left with his children the following remarks on the Meeting for Sufferings.

"I am free to make a few remarks on this meeting, which you, my dear children, may live to see realized, if well founded. It is now about twenty-five years since its establishment, and it consisted of twelve members appointed by the Yearly Meeting, and four by each Quarter, making thirty-six,—two new Quarterly meetings having been added since, makes the standing number forty-four. I have observed the increasing importance of this meeting, which, though so called, is *only a standing committee* of the Yearly Meeting. It is a truth that ought not to be lost sight of, that whenever a subordinate body becomes too important either from its members [numbers?] or the weight of its members, it will naturally engross a power and consequence beyond the limits intended for it. It will thus grow more

or less out of the reach of the body that controls it;—the superior meeting ought strenuously to maintain its standing.

"If I am not mistaken, this has already appeared to be too much the case with that meeting, and I fear it will increase with time. Its name implies its business, a meeting for sufferings, but many other matters of great importance to the Society are considered and debated there; even principles of faith have been frequently the subjects of discussion."[1]

After these judicious remarks were written, other Quarterly meetings were established, and thus the Meeting for Sufferings was further increased in numbers. In the year 1826 it consisted of fifty-six members, of whom all were of the class called Orthodox, except ten or twelve.[2] As it was well known that not more than one-third of the members of that Yearly Meeting were Orthodox, it is obvious that the sentiments of the body were not represented in the Meeting for Sufferings, hence it became an intolerable grievance when this "standing committee" denied to the Quarterly meetings their ancient right to change their representatives, and thus virtually declared itself independent of its constituents.

It was composed of some of the most influential men in the Society, a large proportion of them residing in or near the city; and such was their power in the Yearly Meeting, that no change of discipline, limiting or defining the tenure of their office, could be effected. They had attained a position from which it appeared that nothing short of a revolution in the Society could dislodge them.

[1] The Friend or Advocate of Truth, Vol. III. No. 13.

[2] Testimony of Joseph Whitall, Foster's Rep. I. 253.

The Southern Quarterly Meeting forwarded to the Yearly Meeting a report concerning the rejection of its representatives; but there was little hope of their grievances being redressed by a body in which party spirit had gained the ascendancy, and counteracted the sweet influences of brotherly love.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISTURBED MEETINGS.

One of the chief obstructions to harmonious action in the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia and most of its branches, was the assumption by a party, that *the weight* was all on their side; and although it was known that they were greatly in the minority, the clerk of the Yearly Meeting, Samuel Bettle, who was one of the party, determined to act upon that principle. He regarded all those who gave their voices against the adoption of the declaration of faith presented by the Meeting for Sufferings, as having *no weight at all*, thus virtually disfranchising them, without a shadow of authority. Being questioned on this matter, Samuel Bettle testified as follows: "I never considered them entitled to any weight or influence at all. I mean the same persons who had expressed themselves in relation to those extracts, and in opposition to them in the Yearly Meeting of 1823, and whose objections I have quoted."[1]

Some of those who objected to that declaration of

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. I. p. 82.

faith, did so because they were opposed to all creeds; others thought the extracts from the writings of early Friends were garbled; and among those who opposed its adoption were many whose religious experience and uprightness of conduct entitled them to the highest respect. The same principle by which these members were disfranchised in the Yearly Meeting was, of course, applied in the subordinate meetings to them, and to all who did not coincide with that party which assumed to be "the meeting." It was an important point with the party which took the name of Orthodox, to secure for their side, the clerks, overseers, trustees, and a majority of the important committees. In this endeavor they were so successful, that in most of the meetings in Philadelphia Quarter they obtained the ascendancy.[1]

In that city, the two parties were found nearly equal when they came to divide; but of the five Monthly meetings, Green Street alone was able to withstand the influence of that powerful combination which controlled the Meeting for Sufferings and all the Select meetings of the city. In the other Quarterly meetings, ten in number, the Orthodox party were in the minority, and in all except two (Burlington and Haddonfield) it was a very small minority. In the whole Yearly Meeting they comprised less than one third of the members.[2]

They had, however, very able leaders, and in point of wealth and social position, many of them stood pre-eminent in the Society. There were among them men and women of sincere piety, who had be-

[1] Cockburn's Review, pp. 91, 92.

[2] Foster's Report, Exhibit T. Vol. II. p. 461.

come persuaded that heresy was abroad and must be put down. For this purpose they were induced to resort to measures that, in less exciting times, they would have abhorred. Among them there was also a large class who had never passed through the refining process of Spiritual baptism; but being respected for their wealth, intelligence, and orderly deportment, they were appointed on committees, or employed as clerks, until they conceived that they were qualified for service in the church, and took an active part in its discipline, without the subjection of their wills to the divine government.

This latter class was indeed found in both parties, and is the natural result of traditional religion in all societies.

The religious engagement of Elias Hicks in visiting the families of Green Street Monthly Meeting in the Twelfth month, 1822, and the indorsement of unity and approbation placed on his certificate by that meeting, have been noticed in a preceding chapter.

Leonard Snowden, an elder of that meeting, was present when the indorsement was adopted, and on some alteration being proposed in it, remarked that "he thought it would do." After thus giving his assent to the action of the meeting, he joined with other elders in the city in signing a paper which impeached the gospel ministry of Elias Hicks, thereby counteracting and arraigning the judgment of his Monthly Meeting. In consequence of this and other acts of opposition to the meeting, he was taken under its care through the medium of the overseers, and after continued but unavailing efforts to effect a reconciliation, he was released from the station of

elder, but his rights and privileges as a member were not impaired.[1]

While his case was *under the care of the* Monthly Meeting, in the 4th month, 1823, the Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders belonging to Green Street Monthly Meeting took up the subject, and requested the aid of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in a case of difficulty.

This interference with the business of a Meeting for Discipline by the Select meeting, was a breach of order, and is expressly prohibited by a rule of discipline. For although the Select meetings are authorized to extend care to a minister or an elder, who, through "negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise has lost his or her service in that station," yet it is only allowable in such cases as are "not under the care of a Meeting for Discipline on that account."

This point has been more fully elucidated in a section of Chapter X. relating to ministers and elders.

It is obvious that an elder must have lost his usefulness or service in that station, when he has ceased to be in unity with the Monthly Meeting; and if the position were admitted that Monthly meetings cannot release elders from service in such cases, it would go far towards establishing in the Society an irresponsible oligarchy.

The Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders in Philadelphia in the 8th month, 1823, acted upon the application from the Select Preparative Meeting of Green Street, and appointed a committee, to extend aid and advice. This committee, after having charge of the case more than a year, reported that Green

[1] Statement of Facts by Gn. St. Mo. Mg., Foster's Report, II. 445, and Test. of A. Lower, I. 362.

Street Monthly Meeting had interfered, and in a summary manner acted in relation to the Friend [Leonard Snowden] in such a way "that they consider him as not retaining his place in the Preparative Meeting of ministers and elders."[1]

The Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, on receiving this report, referred the subject to the Quarterly Meeting for Discipline, and at the same time Leonard Snowden addressed to the last-named meeting a remonstrance, which he called an appeal.

In this appeal he states that "his religious rights had been invaded" by Green Street Monthly Meeting, and that, "being virtually placed in the situation of a disowned person," he did not feel himself at liberty to attend meetings for discipline, or to exercise the privileges of a member.[2] These allegations were unfounded, as it was well known that he had not been disowned, nor had his religious rights been invaded.

The station of an elder is not a right that can be claimed by any member, however worthy he may be to occupy it, but is regarded as a service assigned by the Monthly Meeting, and it would be hard indeed if the same meeting cannot relieve from that service those whom it has appointed. We know that the right to remove elders was claimed and exercised by Monthly meetings at the time the eldership was first instituted in Pennsylvania.[3]

In the Book of Discipline there is no provision for appeals from an inferior to a superior meeting, except in cases of disownment, and an appeal from one

[1] Foster's Report, II. 481. [2] Ibid. II. 482.

[3] See Chapter X., section MINISTERS AND ELDERS.

who had been an elder, to be reinstated in that station, was believed to be without authority or precedent in the Society. The introduction of Leonard Snowden's case into the Quarterly Meeting for Discipline in the Eleventh month, 1824, produced much discussion and some excitement. The orthodox elders were very active and urgent for it to be taken up; but being opposed by many, it was postponed.[1] At a subsequent Quarterly Meeting the following minute from Green Street Monthly Meeting was received: —

"At a Monthly Meeting of Friends held at Green Street, Philadelphia, the 20th of First month, 1825.

"This meeting being informed by our representatives to our last Quarterly Meeting, that Leonard Snowden had presented a remonstrance, appealing against the proceedings of Green Street Monthly Meeting — we inform the Quarterly Meeting that the said paper was presented without acquainting this meeting, and that Leonard Snowden is not deprived of any of his rights as a member of our religious society.

"The foregoing is directed to be included in the extracts to be furnished to the Quarterly Meeting.

"Extracted from the minutes. JOSEPH WARNER, *Clerk.*"

The Quarterly Meeting not being able to come to any decision in this case, postponed it from time to time, until the Fifth month, 1826, when it was concluded to ask the advice of the Yearly Meeting in regard to it as "a case of difficulty."

In the 8th month of the same year two women Friends, who had manifested "open and continued

[1] Testimony of A. Lower, Foster, I. 362.

opposition," were released from the eldership by Green Street Monthly Meeting, on the ground that their services as elders had ceased. In a document issued by the Monthly Meeting, it is stated that they were released from that service on the authority of the following discipline:—

"1. That part of the third query just cited, which requires that ministers and elders be 'in unity one with another, and with the meeting they belong to.' Page 96.

"2. That part of our discipline respecting elders, which directs that Monthly meetings *take care* 'that the Friends chosen for that service be prudent solid Friends, and that they do carefully *discharge* the trust confided to them.' Page 63. Both these injunctions of the discipline obviously make it obligatory on Monthly meetings to have such elders only as are in unity with them, and also to have none that are not qualified for the station, or that do not 'carefully discharge the trust confided to them.'

"3. That part of our discipline which directs what course shall be pursued in meetings of ministers and elders in reference to the release of a member of those meetings who may 'be thought by negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise, to have lost his or her service in that station, so as to become the subject of uneasiness and burdensome,'—yet manifestly giving an *antecedent and paramount right and authority to monthly meetings* to take such individuals under care, in the words following, viz.: 'yet not so as to be under the care of a *meeting of discipline on that account*, or for misconduct.' The words, 'that account,' manifestly referring to *loss of service*, by negligence, unfaithfulness, or otherwise." Page 68.

The two women Friends who had been released from the eldership, offered to the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia a written communication, stating in general terms that they were aggrieved by the proceedings of Green Street Monthly Meeting, without specifying in what respects they considered themselves aggrieved. It seems they regarded the eldership a desirable office, but it is obvious that no person worthy of it would consent to hold it in opposition to the will of the meeting, unless influenced by others, in order to promote the purposes of a party.

In the Quarterly Meeting, a strong effort was made to have this considered as an appeal case, but this measure was overruled. The representatives and other members of Green Street Monthly Meeting attempted to explain the nature of the grievance, but the opposite party, who must have known what it was, would not allow it, on the plea that the Quarterly Meeting not being officially informed, should appoint a committee to hear the complainants. A committee being accordingly appointed, it undertook to transform the memorial of the rejected elders into an appeal, and called on the Monthly Meeting to produce the minutes of its proceedings. The Monthly Meeting, considering that the Quarterly Meeting had recently referred a similar case to the Yearly Meeting for its advice, which had not yet been given; and believing that the committee were transcending their authority, declined to comply with the request, and refused to nominate any committee of their own on the case.

The Quarterly Meeting's committee, however, persisted in their determination to make it an appeal case, and reported as their judgment that the proceedings of Green Street Monthly Meeting in relation to

the two women Friends should be annulled. As they did not mention in their report what it was that Green Street Monthly Meeting had done, the representatives and some of the members of that meeting attempted to explain that it was an appeal *for the office of an elder*, and that these two Friends had merely been released from that station. They were told that "the members of Green Street Meeting could not be heard," and the clerk, notwithstanding their remonstrances, recorded a minute on the Quarterly Meeting books adopting the judgment of the committee.

In the 11th month, 1826, at the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia a proposition originated in the women's meeting to visit the Monthly meetings; no specific object being stated, it was brought into the men's meeting under a profession of religious concern. The Quarterly Meeting had, for years, been divided in sentiment, and was frequently convulsed with the efforts of contending parties. It was, therefore, in no condition to appoint a committee that would promote harmony in the body. The proposition, while under consideration in the men's meeting, met with such decided opposition that the clerk declared he could not conscientiously receive names for it. After a contest of several hours, the meeting adjourned till the next day, and, during the interval, the clerk appears to have been relieved of his scruples, for when the meeting again convened, he complied without hesitation with the wishes of the Orthodox party; in total disregard of the judgment expressed by a large part of the members.[2]

When the committee met to ascertain the object in

[1] Statement of Facts, Foster's Rep., II. 445 to 451.

[2] Ibid., and Cockburn's Review, p. 125.

view, two of the members, not being considered orthodox, were treated with great indifference, and when the rest were called together to agree upon a report, these two did not receive notification. At the next Quarterly Meeting, held in the 2d mo. 1827, the committee reported attention to their appointment, and were continued, except the two obnoxious members, whose places were supplied from the ranks of the orthodox.[1] Although the purpose for which this committee was appointed did not clearly appear, subsequent developments showed, as will hereafter be related, that the very existence of Green Street Monthly Meeting was in peril.

While these events were in progress, the meetings for worship in the city of Philadelphia were frequently scenes of great disorder and excitement by reason of the open opposition made by some of the elders and others of the Orthodox party to the discourses of those ministers that they deemed heretical in doctrine.[2] In thus publicly opposing ministers from other Yearly meetings, who came among them with proper credentials, they violated a rule of discipline, and impaired the harmony of the Society. Among the instances of disorder arising from this cause, the most noted was the opposition to Elias Hicks at Pine Street Meeting, in the 12th month, 1826. A part of his discourse which gave offence on that occasion, together with the strictures of Jonathan Evans and Isaac Lloyd, have been given in a preceding chapter. The doctrines which Elias Hicks then delivered have been

[1] Cockburn's Review, p. 126.

[2] Test. of H. Jackson, Foster's Rep., II. 37, 38, 43.

shown to be consistent with those of the early Friends, and with the Scriptures.[1]

In the afternoon of the same day he attended Friends' meeting in the Western district [12th Street], where there was a very large congregation, as indeed there always was where he attended in those days. Although the house was excessively crowded, and many were standing, the meeting was solemn and quiet while he was engaged in ministry. As soon as he sat down, an orthodox elder of that meeting arose and expressed disapprobation of the doctrines delivered, which caused great excitement and commotion, especially among the younger part of the audience. Elias endeavored to allay the excitement, saying mildly to the people, "Hear what the Friend has to say." When quiet was restored, Willet Hicks, of New York, delivered a short, impressive discourse, and the meeting closed without further disturbance.[2]

The doctrines delivered at these two meetings, and the conduct of the audiences, were made the ground of a complaint against Elias Hicks, and the Monthly meetings held at Pine Street and Twelfth Street sent a deputation to Jericho Monthly Meeting, Long Island, where that venerable minister resided. The two Orthodox Friends laid their documents on the table, and were present while Elias Hicks returned a certificate of concurrence that had been granted him at a former meeting, together with several indorsements of unity and approbation received from meetings where he had been laboring in the ministry. He also opened, at that time, a prospect of a religious visit to the families of Friends of the

[1] See Chap. VIII., Section 4.

[2] Test. of H. Jackson, Foster, II. 42, 80, 81.

two Monthly meetings of Westbury and Jericho, which was cordially approved by the meeting, and all the business that came before it was transacted in harmony. The communications from Philadelphia were referred to a committee without being read, and at the next Monthly Meeting a report was made in favor of reading them, which was done; but they were deemed unworthy of further notice, and no action of any kind was taken on them.[1]

At Concord Quarterly Meeting, held at Darby in the Eleventh month, 1826, Elias Hicks was in attendance, also Nicholas Brown from Canada, Townsend Hawkhurst from Long Island, and Elizabeth Robson and Ann Jones from England. On the day preceding the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, a meeting of ministers and elders was held, in which Elias Hicks and Nicholas Brown, as well as some other Friends, were engaged in the ministry.

During the sitting of the Quarterly Meeting, Elizabeth Robson and Ann Jones asked permission to visit the men's meeting, and were admitted. They both delivered long communications, and that of Ann Jones was particularly offensive to a large part of the meeting. At the close of the sitting, the elders of the men's Quarterly Meeting were requested to convene in the evening, which they did, and the subject of Ann Jones' communication was taken into consideration. There were fourteen present, all of whom, except one, expressed dissatisfaction with the discourse, and were in favor of seeking an interview with her.

It being found, on inquiry, that she had gone to

[1] Letters of Elias Hicks, p. 199.

Philadelphia, the elders of Darby Monthly Meeting concluded to address a letter to her. It is couched in courteous language, and describes her discourse as follows:

"As near as we can recollect, after stating that thou had brought nothing with thee, and did not know what thou might have to communicate, thou mentioned being oppressed with a sense of the infidelity that was spreading far and wide, and that thou had heard in that house, things that had pierced thee to thy very soul;—that thou had heard the Saviour of the world, the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father and Prince of Peace, lowered down to a mere man, and that sacrifice denied which he offered without the gates of Jerusalem. That the Son of God, and the blood of the everlasting covenant, was trodden underfoot, and counted an unholy thing. That these diabolical doctrines had their origin in a proud Luciferian spirit, and was a *sin that ought to be punished by the Judges;* and that if the elders, on this extensive continent, had kept their places, they would have been able to put a stop to these infidel doctrines that were spreading far and wide among us,—adding that it was not the individuals, but the spirit thou bore testestimony against. This, we think, is near the substance of a considerable part of thy communication.

"Our discipline in this country points out an order to be observed, which ought to be imperative, especially on those who are travelling in truth's service. Although thou mentioned no names, we think thou made some personal allusion by referring to something thou had heard in that house, perhaps the day previous. If anything there had been delivered

that gave thee such uneasiness, it would have been more consistent with gospel order to have sought a private opportunity with the individuals, than to have brought such a railing accusation against them in a large assembly, very few of whom were present the day before, and therefore could not tell to what thou wast alluding. And as those whom we suppose thou wast implicating, by alluding to something thou had heard in that house, were ministers in high estimation with their friends at home, and travelling on a religious account with the unity of their respective meetings equally with thyself—they were also with thyself equally subject to the care of elders wherever they gave cause of uneasiness. Thy conduct in this respect we must protest against, as inconsistent with gospel order, unbecoming a minister of the gospel towards their fellow-laborers (even supposing thou had apprehended some unsoundness of doctrine), and calculated to sow discord among brethren, and produce disorder in the church.

"But we were all present at the meeting of ministers and elders the day previous, and heard what was delivered, and are fully satisfied in our own minds, that thy charges were not correct. The character and mission of the Messiah was exalted, and held up to view as our true pattern, instead of being brought down to the level of a mere man,—the sacrifice of our sinful affections on the cross clearly set forth as the only means of reconciliation with God, and the life of Christ in the soul of man, as the alone atoning blood that can effectually wash away our sins. And as George Fox testifies, "there are none know Christ nor his sufferings, but by the Spirit of God within," so we believe propitiation to be an experimental

work in the soul of man, and fully consistent with a right understanding of the Scriptures, and the doctrines taught by our early Friends generally." * * *

The letter, after stating that her charges of infidelity were nowise applicable to the state of their Quarterly Meeting, recommends to her a close attention to the divine gift, which would give her a clear sight of the true state of the church, and make her instrumental in healing the breaches already made. It was signed by John Hunt, Edward Garrigues, John H. Bunting, and Halliday Jackson.[1]

"I think it was the next First-day, if I am not mistaken," continues Halliday Jackson in his testimony, "after she had received this letter, she with her husband and several others came out to Darby Meeting, and as if she thought she had not done her business well before, poured out another flood of declamation and crimination upon us, stating that she believed we had been led astray by wicked and designing men,—that she had preached the gospel to the fishermen, the sailors and the miners, in her own country—men that we would disdain, as she said, to set with the dogs of our flocks; and they would even blush at our conduct. And among many other things, I think she charged us with denying or undervaluing the Scriptures; and that the heathen who never had the Scriptures would go into the kingdom of heaven before us, or something to this amount,—and I believe nearly the words that I have repeated she did express." After this second attack upon the Friends at Darby, she was visited by Halliday Jackson and another elder, at her lodgings in Philadel-

[1] Foster's Report, Exhibit S., Vol. II. p. 460.

phia. She acknowledged the receipt of their letter, and did not call in question the statement it contained, but gave them no satisfaction.[1]

The same witness, alluding particularly to Ann Jones and Anna Braithwaite, expressed the following sentiments: "I believe that the visit of those English women, and the part they had taken generally in the course of their visit to this country, greatly tended to accelerate, and finally to produce the separation that has taken place, not only in the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, but also in several of the other Yearly meetings on the continent of America."[2]

At a public meeting for worship in New York, held 6th month 1st, 1826, some of the English Friends were in attendance. A stenographer who was present, has given, in a note to one of the sermons then delivered, the following account of a deeply interesting scene that took place.

"As the circumstances of this meeting were peculiar, and have been variously represented, it becomes the duty of the stenographer to give a statement of facts as they appeared to him at the time.

"At an early period of the meeting Mrs. Robson rose, and continued to speak for more than an hour. She was very soon succeeded by Mrs. Braithwaite in the foregoing prayer; immediately after which, Richard Jordan and Elisha Bates, who sat at the head of the meeting, shook hands as the customary signal for a separation; but, contrary to anything ever before witnessed by the stenographer, or by any other

[1] Testimony of H. Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. II. pp. 86 to 88.
[2] Ibid.

person with whom he has conversed, not a solitary individual, among more than two thousand, was seen to move!

"In the course of about a minute, there was another and a similar attempt made to close the meeting, by R. Jordan, E. Robson, A. Braithwaite, and some persons occupying the second galleries, but it was with the same effect! A profound silence now pervaded the whole of this large assembly, and, in breathless expectation, every eye seemed riveted with intense interest upon the galleries. The whole meeting, simultaneously breaking through the rules of the society, remained fixed and immovable, as if controlled by some invisible power. Such was the effect, that the beholder might have easily conceived himself surrounded by a congregation of statues, instead of animate beings. During this interval, Mr. Wetherald rose and delivered the following discourse, which being succeeded by a few remarks from Elias Hicks, a short pause ensued — when Mr. Hicks and Mr. Wetherald shook hands, and the meeting quietly dispersed."[1]

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF 1827.

As the time approached for the assembling of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in the Spring of 1827, the whole Society was agitated with conflicting hopes

[1] T. Wetherald's Sermons, Phil. Ed. 1826.

and fears. It is impossible for those who have not participated in the proceedings of Friends' Yearly meetings, nor been imbued with the spirit that pervades them, to appreciate the intense interest with which every important movement of the body is contemplated by its members. They have always been, in some respects, a peculiar people: circumscribed in their pursuits by their self-denying testimonies, — debarred from fashionable amusements by their conscientious scruples, — and educated to reverence the religious principles of their forefathers,— they are drawn by a strong affinity to seek for society chiefly among themselves, although their liberal doctrines encourage Christian charity to all mankind. This partial isolation from the world, which in former times was more observable than now, contributed to restrict their intercourse with other religious societies, and to cause increased attachment to their own.

Prior to the unhappy dissensions produced by doctrinal controversy, religious intolerance, and defamation, the Society had been remarkable for its harmony and brotherly love; but now jealousy and distrust prevailed, the meetings for discipline in the city of Philadelphia were scenes of disputation, and even into their assemblies for divine worship, once so solemn and reverential, the demon of discord had entered.

John Comly, who lived at Byberry, was not unfrequently a visitor in the city, and has left in his Journal the following remarks: "The solemnity of silent adoration was often disturbed by denunciations from the gallery against infidelity and other imagined absurdities. Doctrines, till now unheard in meetings of Friends, were reiterated and enforced with

threatenings on those who should dare to reject them. Thus dismay and confusion increased; the youth and little children went to meetings with reluctance; young men and women absented themselves; some Friends openly talked of resigning their rights in such a society, and many were exceedingly tried on account of their families and children. Many sober inquirers and friendly people who had flocked to Friends' meetings now declined and left their attendance. Thus the public meetings diminished in numbers, and the comfort and edification once found in attending them was little to be felt or enjoyed by the sincere seeker after truth. 'The ways of Zion mourned, and the travellers walked in byways.'

"Having thus viewed the awful state of Friends in the city, and having seen the spreading of the same spirit in various parts of our Yearly Meeting, my mind had shared with others in deep exercise on account of these things, and became impressed with a religious concern to make a visit to the city, in order to mingle with Friends, and to see and feel whether any opening might present for active labor, in endeavoring to promote a reconciliation between the two contending parties. In accordance with this view and impression, I attended the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held there in the Second month, 1827, in which I had a full view of the nature of that spirit that was seeking to bear rule in the Society." * * * *

"Such a select meeting I had never before attended. Painful indeed the spectacle! But I learned something of the reality of what before I had only heard 'by the hearing of the ear.' The meeting not being

able to get through its business till near four o'clock in the afternoon, occasioned a long sitting, trying to the patience, but more so to the gentle feelings of Christian meekness and love.

"Although this painful meeting afforded little prospect of a reconciliation, my mind was turned toward seeking for an opening to converse with some of the active ones, in order to see and feel whether any door of hope remained for healing the awful breach. But some of them having long appeared to regard me with an eye of suspicious jealousy, afforded no opportunity for such an interview. Cold, distant, inhospitable, they passed by and left me to myself. But I learned much by this day's observation.

"The next day being First-day, I attended Pine Street meeting. Silence appeared proper for me, and a state of childlike docility. But my heart was warmed with love to my fellow-creatures, and tender compassion joined with Christian sympathy flowed towards them.

"On Second-day attended the general Quarterly Meeting, and was a silent observer of much confusion and disorder. In the altercations that ensued on several subjects brought before the meeting, I saw the spirit of strife and contention rise higher and higher, and that both parties were wasting their strength for naught, and dissipating the feelings of brotherly kindness in endeavors on the one hand to carry through certain measures, and on the other to oppose and prevent it. 'Contention and personal reflection' were not kept out of this meeting. Friends were interrupted while speaking, harsh epithets were applied to some, and irritation and warmth mani-

fested the unfitness of the meeting to transact its business." * * * *

"Under these impressions and awful views of the lamentable state of disorder into which the Society was plunged, my mind was opened to see more clearly that this contest would result in a separation of the two conflicting parts of the Society, as the only means of saving the whole from a total wreck; and the way and manner of this separation was clearly unfolded to my mental vision: that on the part of Friends it must be effected in the peaceable spirit of the non-resisting lamb,—first, by ceasing from the spirit of contention and strife, and then uniting together in the support of the order and discipline of the Society of Friends, separate and apart from those who had introduced the difficulties, and who claimed to be the orthodox part of the Society.

"A duty now presented to labour with Friends to be still and quiet, and let the others go on with their schemes and operations unmolested; that there was no use in thus spending their strength; and that a way of safety was about to open, by withdrawing from these scenes of contention and disorder. In pursuing this duty, and spreading the views that were given me of a quiet peaceable retreat from this unavailing contest, the only means of effecting it appeared to be, that Friends in the city cease from all contention, and then throw themselves into the arms of their country friends, by requesting of some neighbouring Monthly meeting, where they were generally united, to acknowledge and receive them into its bosom as members, without certificates, because it was obvious they could not obtain them from their respective meetings, if applied for. And this departure from the common usage of the

discipline would be all the change that need be made in the order of society. The sympathy and tender feelings of Friends in the country would doubtless operate toward their suffering, fugitive Friends in the city, and they will risk all consequences under the consciousness of the purity of their motives. From a monthly meeting which should thus adopt the golden rule, the concern would spread to a quarterly meeting, which would approve the measure; and at length other quarters would unite therein, till a yearly meeting of Friends might come together in love, in harmony, and peace.

"Among the effects that may result from such a quiet, peaceable retreat from the scenes of discord that now disgrace the Society, a prospective view was held up that the youth would be gathered into a calm; meetings would again be precious, instructive seasons; a living gospel ministry would be revived; and many would be drawn to attend Friends' meetings who have latterly absented themselves therefrom; discipline might again become a blessing to society, and the testimonies of truth be again advanced and upheld."[1]

This ample extract from the Journal of John Comly is deemed appropriate, as the clearest exposition we have of the motives which actuated him and induced him to propose to his friends "a quiet retreat," not from the Society of Friends, but from the scenes of disorder and contention that had destroyed its usefulness. Others may have conceived a similar plan, but he appears to have been the first to propose it. The act of separation did not originate with Elias Hicks,

[1] Journal of J. Comly, p. 305 to 310.

as some have supposed, and there is no reason to believe that he was consulted on the occasion.

The course recommended by John Comly, and ultimately adopted, affords abundant evidence that he and his friends were actuated by the peaceable Spirit of the Lamb. Many have doubted whether they were "wise as serpents," but none can deny that they were "harmless as doves." They were fully persuaded that the orthodox party in Philadelphia, having the clerks of four of the Monthly meetings on their side, and claiming to be the *weighty* part of the meetings, were preparing to enter upon a system of disownment, in order to eject from membership all who opposed them. "I imparted to Friends," writes John Comly, "a way of escape for them, if a system of disownment should be adopted by the ruling party, now nearly ready to use the Discipline for making a separation."

In order to prevent the scattering of the flock, which he thought would result from such measures, he visited several of the country meetings, and conferred with the most experienced and influential Friends in relation to the momentous concerns that occupied his attention. Some of them appeared cautious and doubtful, but most of those he consulted sympathized with him, and embraced the views he presented.

On the 14th of the Fourth month, the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, usually called the Select Yearly Meeting, convened in Philadelphia. The English Friends, George and Ann Jones and Elizabeth Robson, were in attendance, and took an active part.

The answers to the second query, which relates to the state of the ministry, were favorable, so far as each

meeting answered for itself and its ministers, which was all they had a right to do; but the answer from Philadelphia Quarter contained an appendix, brought up from *Pine Street* Meeting, stating, in substance, that ministers *coming among them, preached* "*unsound doctrines*," or "doctrines that went to destroy the foundation of the Christian religion."[1] This gratuitous charge, irregularly brought forward, was seized upon by one of the female ministers from England, who had the presumption to say, that if the other Quarterly meetings, ten in number, had answered as honestly as Philadelphia Quarter, they would have made a similar report, thus calling in question the truthfulness of the official reports. She was supported in this assertion by the other English Friends, as also by some of the active members of Philadelphia Quarter, and perhaps a few of the orthodox from the country.

On this report a proposition was founded to appoint a committee to visit the subordinate meetings of ministers and elders throughout the Yearly Meeting. This measure was urged by the orthodox party with great earnestness, and as strenuously opposed by a large number of Friends, principally from the country. Jonathan Evans, the clerk, made a minute in accordance with the wishes of his party, which doubtless he considered the *weighty part* of the meeting, and then, "notwithstanding *the opposition to the measure was still going on*," he took down the names of the following committee, viz.: Samuel Bettle, Wm. Jackson, Jonathan Evans, Thomas Wister, Hinchman Haines, William Newbold, Joseph Whitall, Wm. Allinson, Sarah

[1] J. Comly's Journal, p. 317. Test. of A. Lower, Foster's Rep., I. 371, 372; and Test. of H. Jackson, II. 50.

Cresson, Jane Bettle, Hannah Whitall, Elizabeth Reeve, Mary Wister, Elizabeth Allinson, and Mary Morton. The whole committee were of the orthodox party, several of them were ministers, and they were expected to judge of the soundness of their brethren and sisters in the ministry, and to condemn all doctrines that they deemed unsound.[1] This party measure, carried by disregarding the sentiments of a large and valuable part of the meeting, was a source of deep grief and despondency to many sincere hearts, and a sad prelude of coming events.

On Second-day, the 16th of Fourth month, the General Yearly Meeting assembled at Arch Street house; Samuel Bettle was at the table as clerk, and John Comly as his assistant. The usual business of the first sitting is to call the names of the representatives from the Quarterly meetings, to read the certificates of visitors in attendance, and of epistles from other Yearly meetings, and to appoint a committee to prepare answers to the epistles.

While the meeting was engaged in this preliminary business, a visit was announced from Elizabeth Robson of England, and all proceedings were suspended while she was engaged in exhortation almost an hour, "exciting to firmness as a well-disciplined army."[2]

The meeting then proceeded with the business to an unusually late hour. At half past one, it adjourned till four, and during the interval, the representatives were to meet in order to nominate a clerk and assistant clerk for that year.

On calling over the names of the representatives,

[1] Test. of A. Lower and H. Jackson, Foster's Rep., I. 371, and II. 51; and J. Comly's Journal, p. 318.

[2] J. Comly's Journal, p. 319.

it appeared that the number from Abington, Bucks, and the Southern Quarter were much larger than usual.[1]

The discipline provides that not less than four representatives shall be delegated by each Quarter, but does not state how many beyond that number may be appointed. Philadelphia Quarter, prior to 1827, had sent three representatives from each Monthly meeting. Most of the others had two from each Monthly meeting.[2]

There was no violation of discipline in sending more, but the Orthodox party charged their opponents with increasing the number at that time in order to effect a change in the clerkship. The Friends from Abington and Bucks asserted truly, that they had not previously sent their due proportion. The Southern, being a much smaller Quarter, had more than its due proportion. The whole number of representatives was 163, of whom it is said 45 were Orthodox.

It appears, by the testimony of two Friends, who were representatives, that soon after they convened, John Comly was proposed as clerk, and Samuel Bettle was also named for the same station.[3] A warm debate ensued between the two parties, each adhering strenuously to its candidate. Much the larger number gave their voices for John Comly;—one of the witnesses estimated the majority in his favor at two thirds;—but the orthodox party asserted that the *weightier* part of the representatives were opposed to his nomination. To this it was replied, that they had no

[1] Foster's Rep., Test. of Thos. Evans, Vol. I. pp. 265, 274.

[2] Testimony of John Paul, Vol. II. p. 341.

[3] Foster's Rep., Test. of A. Lower, I. 372; Test. Cephas Ross, II. 4.

means to judge of the weight of individuals; but they were all representatives of Quarterly meetings, and therefore stood on an equality.

Abraham Lower proposed that those who were in favor of John Comly should withdraw to one side of the house. This was strenuously resisted by the Orthodox party, some of whom protested that it was "like a political meeting to decide by a majority." It was proposed that a Friend should go to the table and take down the names of representatives who were in favor of John Comly; but those opposed to his nomination declared they would leave the house if such a measure were attempted. Two Friends went to the table for that purpose, and one of them commenced writing; some persons opened the door; —the yard was full of people, and the hour for meeting being nearly come, they rushed into the house. In the confusion that ensued, no business could be transacted. A proposition was made, and assented to by some, to meet next morning at 8 o'clock; — others, who were of the Orthodox party, requested John Cox, a venerable and worthy minister, to report that they could not agree.

When the Yearly Meeting assembled in the afternoon, Samuel Bettle, the former clerk, read the opening minute, and John Cox reported, that the representatives could not agree in the nomination of a clerk. An aged Friend said, he had been in the habit of attending Yearly meetings for sixty years, and it was always the practice to continue the old clerks until new ones could be appointed. This assertion, though literally true, was fallacious in its application; for such a case, we believe, had never occurred till then, and the practice of continuing the

former clerk extended only to the first sitting. His proposition was cordially united with by the Orthodox party, but strenuously opposed by a large part of the meeting. Such a scene of altercation and confusion ensued, as was probably never before witnessed in a Friends' Yearly Meeting. Samuel Bettle, being urged by his friends, recorded himself clerk and John Comly assistant, notwithstanding the persistent opposition of many.[1]

In relation to his own appointment, John Comly writes as follows: "As assistant clerk, I was very unwilling to resume my seat under such circumstances, but it was urged by several Orthodox Friends, not because of their unity with my being there, but because there seemed no other way than to suffer it to be so under present circumstances. After being repeatedly solicited and hurried by them, I reluctantly yielded as a present expedient, for I saw and felt the disappointment and dissatisfaction among Friends to be such, that a very little spark would kindle to an explosion a mighty mass of feelings now working in the agitated, grieved, and disgusted hearts of my brethren. Partaking of the sympathy and exercise and travail of the oppressed, I felt a disposition of condescension, and sat at the table during the remainder of that sitting, though greatly to the grief of many of my own dear friends, who considered my compliance as a mark of submission and acquiescence with orthodox measures, that ought to have been steadily and firmly opposed; and that by thus yielding to them I had virtually sanctioned their arbitrary proceedings and weakened or tied my own hands."[2]

[1] Foster's Rep., Test. of Halliday Jackson, Ab. Lower, Cephas Ross, and Thos. Evans, Vol. I. 265, 372; Vol. II. 4, 52.

[2] Journal of J. C., p. 320.

At the close of the sitting, being spoken to by Samuel Bettle on a charge of promoting a division in the Society, John Comly replied, that he had not promoted a *division*, but that a division existing which he had not made nor promoted, he had seen that it must terminate in the separation of the two parties. As things were getting worse, and there was no hope of a reconciliation, he had endeavored to prepare the minds of Friends to look toward such a separation in a quiet peaceable manner, so as to reorganize the Society of Friends on the peaceable principle of love and good will to all, without contention, and this information he wished Samuel Bettle to communicate to his friends. This appeared to give satisfaction, and was doubtless the very course that the Orthodox party wished him to pursue.

Soon after the meeting was opened on Third-day morning, John Comly rose and said in substance: That it had been through condescension to a few Friends that he took his seat at the table as assistant clerk the preceding afternoon; but as he did not consider himself appointed with the unity of the meeting, he was not easy to serve in that capacity under existing circumstances. He then adverted to the divided state of the Society,—that there were two parties between whom love and unity did not subsist, as became the followers of Christ, or as brethren. Whatever may have been the cause of this difference, he deemed it then useless to inquire; but their duty was to consider and feel after the best measures to restore harmony. He therefore proposed, as the Yearly Meeting was evidently not qualified for the transaction of its business, that it should adjourn

until it could come together in more harmony and love.

He further observed, that if the meeting should not accede to his proposal, he felt conscientiously scrupulous of acting as its organ, inasmuch as he did not consider himself appointed in the order nor with the unity of the body.

A solemn stillness pervaded the congregation; and after a pause, Dr. Joseph Parrish, a Friend universally esteemed and beloved, arose, and advancing in the aisle, commenced a pathetic appeal to the meeting. He spoke of his ancestry, as having evinced their deep attachment to the Society of Friends, and stated that he and many of his contemporaries felt the same warmth of affection for it and its principles; he deplored the unhappy division of sentiment and party feeling that existed among them, and adverting to the proposition then before the meeting, his feelings were so wrought upon, that the organs of utterance failed, and an impressive solemnity was spread over the meeting.[1]

Several Friends united with the proposed adjournment; others opposed it on the ground of its novelty, and because they apprehended it was designed to dissolve the Yearly Meeting. After more than half an hour spent in its consideration, John Comly finding that it could not be carried, and that even those whom he considered the friends of good order were not prepared for it, withdrew it. He rose and said, he saw his proposition was not likely to be adopted, and as the meeting would proceed with its business, and many Friends expressed a wish that he should act as assistant clerk, he felt disposed to submit and serve

[1] Journal of J. Comly, 323.

the meeting, *provided he were now appointed by the meeting*, and this to be known by the general expression of unity. "This submission," he writes, "was the result of the change which I saw and felt in the state of the meeting from what it had been before, and when those scruples impressed my mind; and from the view then opened of a little narrow path in which I might be of use to the meeting as assistant clerk, if appointed in the general unity, which was now very largely expressed by very many voices."[1]

John Comly continued to act as assistant clerk till the close of the Yearly Meeting, very much to the regret of some of his friends, who feared he would thus commit himself to measures he could not approve. Whatever may be thought of the expediency of his course, the purity of his motives cannot be doubted. For a long time prior to the unhappy dissensions then prevailing, he had been generally regarded as one of the best and wisest men in the Society. Calm and deliberate in his movements, he was remarkably qualified to give judicious counsel in meetings for discipline, and in the exercise of his gift as a minister he was clear, concise, and effective, a "workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." Being a lover of peace, he seldom engaged in controversy, and generally acted upon the principle, that it is better to suffer than contend.

The chief objection to Samuel Bettle as clerk, was the ground he had previously taken, and afterwards publicly avowed, that he did not consider any of

[1] Journal of J. Comly, pp. 322, 325; and Test. of S. Bettle and H. Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. I. 266, and II. 54.

those who objected to the proposed declaration of faith, as "entitled to any *weight* or influence at all."[1] As he professed also to decide by *weight*,—not numbers,—he virtually disfranchised a majority of the Yearly Meeting, and threw the whole power into the hands of his own party—the minority. After this unwarrantable assumption of power, he ceased to be the servant of the meeting, and was disqualified for the clerkship. There was, however, another objection to his serving as clerk at that time. The subject of Leonard Snowden's removal from the eldership by Green Street Monthly Meeting had been referred by Philadelphia Quarter to the Yearly Meeting for its advice; and it was thought that Samuel Bettle had taken so active a part in that matter as to bias his judgment. From the same quarter, an important proposition in relation to appeals was also brought up; and from Bucks and Abington Quarters, propositions to limit the terms of appointments to the eldership and the Meeting for Sufferings. And, moreover, the complaint of the Southern Quarterly Meeting against the Meeting for Sufferings was expected to come before the Yearly Meeting.

Some of these propositions had come from one party and some from the other; it was evident that the meeting was not in a condition to consider them calmly, or to decide them satisfactorily, and therefore, by the tacit consent of both parties, they were not taken up, but deferred; except the case relating to Leonard Snowden, which was returned to Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting.[2]

[1] Testimony of S. Bettle, Foster's Report, I. 82.

[2] Testimony of H. Jackson, Ibid. II. 55.

There was one measure in which both parties united, and it is creditable to both that it was an act of humanity. It was agreed to raise the sum of three thousand dollars to assist the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina in removing from that State a large number of colored people under the care of Friends, who had been manumitted and were liable, if they remained, to be again enslaved. The Quarterly meetings were requested to contribute their several quotas, which they complied with, and paid them over to the treasurer of the Yearly Meeting.[1]

The last act *unitedly performed* by the body of Friends before its separation, was to relieve freedmen of African descent. Their interest in that people still continues,—and the hope is fondly cherished, that the co-operation and sympathy of the two sections of the Society in so good a work may yet bring them nearer together.

It would have been gratifying to close this sad chapter with the recital of so generous a deed; but unhappily the Yearly Meeting, then near its conclusion, was again agitated and convulsed, through the interference of one of the female ministers from England.[2] She proposed, and the women's meeting consented to appoint a committee to visit the Monthly and Quarterly meetings. A deputation of two women brought the proposition into the men's meeting for its co-operation. At first, the meeting seemed not disposed to unite with it, the clerk and some of the Orthodox party, as well as other Friends, expressing their judgment that the meeting,

[1] Testimony of Thos. Evans and Halliday Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. I. 267, and II. 56.

[2] Testimony of A. Lower and H. Jackson, Vol. I. 374, and II. 56.

at that late period, was not prepared to go into an appointment.

At this juncture, a young man who had been, the evening previous, at Green Street meeting-house, where a conference of Friends was held, informed the meeting of the measures adopted there preparatory to a separation. This statement and disclosure drew out from many an expression in favor of having a committee appointed, and some of those who had opposed it now became its advocates. It was strenuously opposed by many Friends, and much excitement prevailed; but the clerk proceeded to write a minute, and those who belonged to his party nominated the whole committee, which was composed in part of the same individuals who had been appointed in the meeting of ministers and elders for a similar purpose.[1] Those who were opposed to this measure declined to take any part in it, but they remained in the meeting till the closing minute was read, to meet again "at the usual time next year, if the Lord permit."[2]

CHAPTER XV.

REORGANIZATION OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.

After enduring for several years the sorrowful effects produced by the divided and distracted con-

[1] Testimony of H. Jackson, Foster's Report, II. 56; and J. Comly's Journal, p. 331.

[2] Testimony of Thomas Evans, Foster's Report, I. 268.

dition of the Society, many valuable Friends, who loved peace and abhorred contention, became prepared, though reluctantly, to acquiesce in the necessity of a separation. Events that transpired in the early part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1827, confirmed the impression, that a party, who were unquestionably a minority of the body, were determined **to bear rule in an arbitrary manner, notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of their brethren. The course pursued by the clerk of the Select Meeting, and those who acted with him, — and the imposition of a clerk upon the General Yearly Meeting by the same party, in opposition to the greater part of the body, — increased the dissatisfaction already prevailing, and brought on the crisis.**

On Fourth-day evening, the 18th of the 4th month, being the third day of the Yearly Meeting, a number of Friends, perhaps fifteen or twenty, met together at a private house, and took into consideration the state of the Yearly Meeting and the Society at large. A few Friends were then nominated to prepare an address, and a meeting for conference was appointed to be held the next evening at Green Street meeting-house.[1]

On Fifth-day evening, a large number accordingly assembled; the essay of an address was produced, and after some time spent in its consideration, they adjourned to the following evening.

On Sixth-day evening, the 20th, they resumed the consideration of the address, and after some alterations it was unanimously adopted. They then adjourned to meet again on the morrow.

[1] Test. of H. Jackson, Foster's Rep., II. 59.

After the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting on Seventh-day, the conference of Friends again assembled at Green Street meeting-house. The essay of an address being again read and weightily considered, it was agreed that it be signed on behalf of the meeting, and a suitable number of copies printed for distribution.

The address, after adverting to the love and harmony that had formerly prevailed in the Society, and the religious liberty Friends had asserted and enjoyed, proceeds as follows: "With this great object in view, our attention has been turned to the present condition of this Yearly Meeting and its different branches; and by evidence on every hand, we are constrained to declare that the unity of this body is interrupted, — that a division exists among us, developing in its progress views which appear incompatible with each other, and feelings averse to a reconciliation. Doctrines held by one part of the Society, and which we believe to be sound and edifying, are pronounced by the other part to be unsound and spurious. From this has resulted a state of things that has proved destructive of peace and tranquillity, and in which the fruits of love and condescension have been blasted, and the comforts and enjoyments even of social intercourse greatly diminished. Measures have been pursued which we deem oppressive, and in their nature and tendency calculated to undermine and destroy those benefits, to establish and perpetuate which should be the purpose of every religious association." * * * *

"It is under a solemn and deliberate view of this painful state of our affairs, that we feel bound to express to you, under a settled conviction of mind, that the period has fully come in which we ought to look

toward making a quiet retreat from this scene of confusion, and we therefore recommend to you deeply to weigh the momentous subject, and to adopt such a course as Truth, under solid and solemn deliberation, may point to, in furtherance of this object, that our Society may again enjoy the free exercise of its rights and privileges. **And we think proper to remind you that we have no new gospel to preach, nor any other foundation to lay than that already laid, and proclaimed by our forefathers, even 'Christ within, the hope of glory,' — 'the power of God and the wisdom of God.' Neither have we any other system of discipline to propose than that which we already possess; believing that whilst we sincerely endeavour to live and walk consistently with our holy profession, and to administer it in the spirit of forbearance and love, it will be found sufficient for the government of the Church."**[1] * * * *

"Having experienced, in the several sittings of this conference, a comfortable evidence of divine regard, imparting strength and encouragement to look forward to another friendly meeting together, this meeting agrees to adjourn to the first Second-day in the 6th month next, at ten o'clock in the morning, at Green Street meeting-house, Philadelphia, if the Lord permit."

In the Fifth month, 1827, the committee appointed six months before reported to Philadelphia Quarterly

[1] The address was signed on behalf of the meeting by —

John Comly,	Joshua Lippincott,
Robert Moore,	John Hunt,
William Mode,	Stephen Stephens,
Richard Barnard,	Joseph G. Rowland,
John Watson, (Buckingham,)	William Wharton.

Meeting a proposition to lay down Green Street Monthly Meeting, and transfer the members to the Monthly Meeting of the Northern District. This proposition, made in opposition to the wishes of the members to be thus transferred, was, through the influence of the Orthodox party, recorded as adopted by the Quarterly Meeting.

But Green Street Monthly Meeting, anticipating this movement, had, the month previous, concluded to dissolve its connection with Philadelphia Quarter, and had given notice to that meeting before the consummation of the measure.

The Quarterly Meeting attempted to justify its proceedings by the following rule of discipline: "It is agreed that no Quarterly meeting be *set up* or *laid down* without the consent of the Yearly Meeting, no Monthly meeting without the consent of the Quarterly Meeting; nor any Preparative or *other meeting for business* or worship, till application to the Monthly Meeting is *first made*, and when there approved, the consent of the Quarterly Meeting be also obtained." The Friends of Green Street maintained, that, according to this rule, "a Quarterly meeting has no other power than to *confirm* or *prevent* the setting up or laying down of a Monthly meeting. It is also clear that a Quarterly meeting cannot lay down a 'Preparative or *other meeting for business* or worship, till application to the Monthly Meeting is first made, and *when there approved*, the consent of the Quarterly Meeting be also obtained.' The terms, *other meeting for business*, in the clause, must include a Monthly meeting." * * * * * "The absurdity of the application of the rule, as construed by the Quarterly Meeting, becomes evident when applied to the *setting up* of a Monthly meeting, with-

out the consent of the parties who are to compose such meeting, — the same principle clearly applying in both cases."

In the same month, application was made by Green Street Monthly Meeting to be received as a branch of Abington Quarterly Meeting; and there being "a full and decided expression" in favor of it, that meeting agreed to the proposition, and sent down to the Monthly Meeting a minute of acceptance.[1]

In like manner, Radnor Monthly Meeting withdrew from Philadelphia Quarter, and was received as a constituent part of Abington Quarter; and Mount Holly Monthly Meeting detached itself from Burlington Quarter, to become a branch of Bucks Quarterly Meeting.

In these cases, the orthodox committee appointed at the last sitting of the Yearly Meeting were in attendance, and remonstrated without effect.[2] There were, doubtless, some orthodox members in all the meetings who objected, but they were so few in number that the "prevailing sense of the meetings" in favor of the proceedings could not be mistaken or denied.

A large number of Friends from four of the Monthly meetings of Philadelphia applied to be received as members of Byberry and Darby Monthly meetings, and were admitted without bringing certificates, which it was well known would have been denied them by the Orthodox party, who had already commenced proceedings against some of them. Byberry and Darby Monthly meetings then instituted each a meeting for worship in the city, and Abing-

[1] Statement of Facts, Foster's Report, II. 450.

[2] Test. of Jos. Whitall and T. Evans, Foster's Rep., Vol. I. pp. 222, 270.

ton Quarterly Meeting established there a meeting for discipline, called the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia.[1] To this Monthly Meeting, as well as to that of Green Street, persons living in the city, and known to be in membership with Friends, were admitted as members, or allowed to transfer their rights without certificates.

These measures, preliminary to the reorganization of the Yearly Meeting, were designed to forestall the action of the Orthodox party, who intended to disown all that participated in that movement. In Philadelphia Quarter they had already begun their disciplinary proceedings for this purpose, but were frustrated by the Friends taking shelter under the wings of other Quarterly meetings, after which their papers of disownment were disregarded.

The transfer of membership without a certificate, and the action of the Monthly and Quarterly meetings in that emergency, were not in accordance with the letter of discipline, but arose from the necessity of the case. The Friends concerned in those extraordinary proceedings believed that the compact had been broken by the substitution of arbitrary power for the spirit of love; they saw no way to regain their religious rights but by a reorganization, and for such an exigency the rules of discipline did not and could not provide.

In pursuance of its adjournment, the General Meeting of Friends again met in conference at Green Street meeting-house, Philadelphia, on the 4th and 5th days of the Sixth month, 1827, and

[1] Testimony of Thomas Evans, Foster's Report, I. 270; and Testimony of H. Jackson, II. p. 151.

adopted an epistle addressed, "To Friends of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings within the compass of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia."

In accordance with the recommendation of the conference, the Quarterly meetings of Abington, Bucks, and Concord, also the Western and Southern Quarters, appointed representatives to attend the Yearly Meeting to be held in the Tenth month. In the Southern Quarterly Meeting, little or no opposition was made, its members being generally united in sentiment. In the other four Quarters, the orthodox party made opposition, but being greatly in the minority, they separated from the main body and set up meetings of their own, leaving Friends in possession of the meeting-houses.

On the 15th of Tenth month, 1827, the Yearly Meeting assembled. The men occupied a large temporary building erected for the occasion; the women met in Green Street meeting-house. "It was estimated that nearly fifteen hundred men Friends were in attendance, and a sensible solemnity and tender feeling being experienced, the meeting appeared to be owned by the Head of the Church."[1]

Representatives were present from Abington, Bucks, Concord, the Western and Southern Quarterly meetings, and also from Mount Holly, Chesterfield, and Radnor Monthly meetings.

A committee appointed at the General Meeting held in the Sixth month, to attend to the state of the

[1] Cockburn's Review, 225. Halliday Jackson testified: "I think it was estimated that there were more than twenty-five hundred including both sexes; some thought near three thousand attended at some of the sittings." Foster, Vol. II. p. 61

Society and afford assistance to Friends under suffering, reported attention to the service.

A large committee of men and women Friends was appointed to represent the Yearly Meeting in its recess, and attend to the important concerns which claimed the attention of the body. It was unanimously recommended that the ministers and elders present should meet in a yearly-meeting capacity on the next morning, and sit as heretofore on its own adjournments.

A committee appointed to draught an address to Friends within the compass of the Yearly Meeting, produced one, which was adopted and 10,000 copies directed to be printed and distributed to the Quarterly and Monthly meetings. An epistle to Baltimore Yearly Meeting was also deliberately considered and adopted.

On the 19th of the month, the concluding minute was read, as follows:

"Having been favoured, through the unmerited mercy of the Head of the Church, to witness in the several sittings of this meeting the baptizing influence of his own blessed Spirit cementing us together in the bond of gospel love, and enabling us to conduct the weighty affairs of the church in much brotherly affection and harmony, and feeling grateful for the favour, the meeting concludes to meet again on the second Second-day of the Fourth month next, if the Lord permit. BENJAMIN FERRIS, *Clerk.*"

From the epistle addressed "To the Quarterly, Monthly, and Particular Meetings of Friends," within the compass of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the following passages are selected:—"Our profession is high and holy; and let us be increasingly

concerned to walk consistently therewith. The patient sufferings of our faithful predecessors finally established for them an excellent name, even amongst their persecutors. They held up with *practical* clearness a peaceable testimony against 'wars and fightings,' and by a scrupulous adherence to the principles of justice, became proverbial for integrity. In the present afflicting state of things, we feel deeply concerned that their example in these respects may be kept steadily in view,—that our religious testimonies may never be wounded by contending for property and asserting our rights;—that no course be pursued, although sanctioned by the laws of the excellent government under which we live, that may be at variance with the spirit of that holy Lawgiver who taught his disciples, 'If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also;' and who set forth his own situation as it related to this world when he said, 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.'

"And we tenderly exhort, that in places where our numbers constitute the larger part of any meeting, their conduct may be regulated by the rule laid down by our blessed Lord: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' The discipline under which we act positively discourages members of our Society from suing each other at law. To violate this discipline in a meeting capacity, is not only a departure from our established order, but is calculated to injure us in the eyes of sober inquirers after truth, and to disturb the peace of our own minds."

A separation took place in the other Quarterly

meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the following order: at Salem, Burlington, and Caln, in the Eleventh month; at Haddonfield, in the Twelfth month; and at Shrewsbury and Rahway, in the Second month following.[1] As the Orthodox party in most of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings were much the smaller number, they usually effected a separation by remaining in the meeting-house after the minute of adjournment was read; and then appointing a clerk, they proceeded to business, or adjourned to another time and place. In most places, on account of the smallness of their numbers, they procured other houses to hold their meetings; but in some instances both sections continued, for a time, to use the same meeting-house, separated on First-days by a partition, and holding their mid-week meetings on different days. At Burlington and some other places, the Orthodox section being much the larger, retained the meeting-houses.

It was a time of deep distress to many sincere Friends in both sections. Members of the same family were often divided in sentiment and attended different meetings; old associations and tender friendships were severed, and not unfrequently, acrimonious feelings were too much indulged.

In the Spring of 1828, the reorganized Yearly Meeting again assembled, and representatives were present from all the Quarters except Philadelphia. The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and that of Green Street, having been attached to Abington Quarter, were represented through it, and a large number of Friends residing in the city were in attendance.

[1] Testimony of Joseph Whitall, Foster's Report, I. 224.

An epistle addressed to the meeting by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Baltimore was received and read, and its lively, pertinent contents were truly consolatory and acceptable. On entering upon the consideration of the state of the Society as exhibited in the answers to the queries, the meeting was brought under a deep concern and exercise for the removal of existing weaknesses and for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness.

In accordance with a proposition from Abington Quarter, it was agreed to establish a Quarterly Meeting, to be composed of Radnor, Green Street, and Philadelphia Monthly meetings, to be denominated "Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting of Friends." A Quarterly meeting of ministers and elders was connected with it, as prescribed in the rules of discipline.

A committee was appointed to represent the Yearly Meeting during its recess, and hence called the Representative Committee. Its functions are the same as those formerly delegated to the Meeting for Sufferings; it reports to the Yearly Meeting, and is reappointed every year.

The Yearly Meeting continued its sittings from the 14th to the 18th of the Fourth month, conducting its business in harmony and brotherly love. It addressed epistles to the other Yearly meetings of Friends on this continent and in England. From that addressed to the Yearly Meeting of London the following passage is selected:—

"For a long course of years, through the prevailing influence of Christian love, Friends had been enabled to stand a united body and prosecute their religious concerns in harmony and mutual condescension. From a variety of causes, originating, as we believe,

in unfaithfulness to the clear discoveries of that heavenly light which eminently dawned on our Society in the beginning, this blessed harmony has been interrupted. In this part of the vineyard, that divine charity which stands pre-eminent among the fruits of the Holy Spirit, was very much lost, and a spirit of judgment out of the truth usurped its place, producing divisions and contentions not only destructive to the peace of the Church, but subversive of its order and discipline. In this very afflictive state of society, its deeply exercised members appealing from the partial tribunal of human decision to the merciful seat of divine judgment, where purity of motive always finds acceptance, and bowing in awfulness and humility before Him who has promised to lead his devoted children in 'paths that they have not known,' they were favored to discover a way cast up for their deliverance. It is with unfeigned gratitude to the God of all our sure mercies we are bound to acknowledge that he has not only opened the way, but led us on step by step, and endued us with power to advance therein, until he has brought us, as a people, into the possession of love, and harmony, and peace."

The spirit of brotherly love which pervades this epistle was manifested in the action of the Yearly Meeting towards the orthodox party. No measures were taken with a view to their disownment, but, on the contrary, they were left at liberty to come into fellowship with Friends without being dealt with as offenders.

At the usual time in the Fourth month, 1828, the Orthodox section held their Yearly Meeting at Arch Street house, Philadelphia. They took measures to render the separation complete, by initiating a course

of disciplinary proceedings to lay down meetings and disown members wherever their authority was not recognized. Thus, for instance, the Southern Quarterly Meeting was declared to be laid down, with all its monthly meetings, and the members, by the same summary process, were said to be attached to another Quarterly meeting, without any of the usual care being bestowed upon them.[1]

In other Quarterly meetings, a minority of the members — often a very small fragment — was made to assume the functions of the whole body, — laying down Monthly meetings, and attaching the members, without their knowledge or consent, to other meetings.

The beneficent design of the Discipline in dealing with offenders for *their own good*, in order to reclaim them, was entirely ignored, and the purpose of cutting off from membership seemed to be the only end kept in view. In the same spirit of crimination, a "Declaration" was issued by the orthodox Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, replete with grave accusations against the other section of the Society, with the obvious intention of prejudicing the public against them, and placing them without the pale of Christian charity. This defamatory publication has been answered, and its charges refuted, in a "Review" by William Gibbons, published at Philadelphia, in 1847.

In the 8th month, 1828, Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting was opened at Cheery Street meeting-house. It was then composed of Radnor, Green Street, and

[1] Test. of J. Whitall, an Orthodox witness. "*Ques.* Was the Southern Quarterly Meeting ever labored with, before it was laid down. *Ans.* I believe not." Foster's Rep., Vol. I. p. 259.

Philadelphia Monthly meetings, and a few months subsequently the Monthly Meeting held at Roaring Creek was annexed to it.

The reorganization of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting being thus accomplished, it may not be inappropriate to consider the grounds on which the measure was justified by its authors. It has been shown in the preceding narrative that discord prevailed to such a degree as to destroy the objects of religious association, and even to impair the harmony of social intercourse. A division existed, and a separation appeared inevitable; but was the method adopted the best that could have been pursued?

It has been asserted, that, had the majority of the representatives, in 1827, signed a report nominating another clerk, the Yearly Meeting must have acceded to it, or the minority would have retired and set up another meeting, thus leaving the larger body in possession of the house. It appears that this course was proposed and attempted, but was frustrated by delay and indecision.

Again, it has been supposed, that, had John Comly, at the time he declined to act as assistant clerk, proposed to withdraw and set the example, two thirds of the Yearly Meeting would have gone with him. This supposition may be correct, but much disorder would have ensued, and the result would not have been more favorable than that which arose from the course adopted.

The plan proposed by John Comly and carried into effect, was doubtless based upon the idea, that, the Yearly Meeting having been originally organized by representatives from Monthly or Quarterly meetings, with other members in attendance, it could,

without a departure from Friends' principles, be reorganized by a convention of delegates from the constituent meetings.

It appears, by the earliest historical account of Friends' meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that the Monthly Meeting of Burlington, held the 2d day of the Third month, 1681, "concluding that a Yearly Meeting might have a general service, unanimously agreed to establish one in Burlington, the first of which was to begin the 28th of the Sixth month following; of which notice was given, and they accordingly met at the house of Thomas Gardiner. On the 31st they proceeded to regulate such business in the Society as was then necessary, particularly in appointing the times and places, when and where the different meetings for business throughout the country were to be thereafter held, among which a general one for worship was established to be held yearly at Salem on the 2d First-day of the Second month. Having settled these and other matters, they adjourned to the 6th of the Seventh month in the succeeding year, then to meet at the same place."[1]

Such was the origin of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. At the time it was instituted, there were but three Monthly meetings in New Jersey, viz., Shrewsbury, established in 1670; Salem, in 1676; and Burlington, in 1678.

It appears by the same authority, that, about the year 1680, the Friends at Burlington established "a Quarterly Meeting among themselves," and that Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting was attached to it in 1682.

At the time the Yearly Meeting was instituted at

[1] Smith's History. Hazard's Register, Vol. VI. p. 184.

Burlington, there were Yearly meetings in Rhode Island and Maryland which had been in existence some years, and there is reason to believe that with these a correspondence was opened, but there is no evidence that their consent or assistance was deemed requisite to the establishment of the new Yearly Meeting.

In like manner, when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was reorganized by the action of Quarterly and Monthly meetings within its limits, the neighboring Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, *then undivided*, opened a correspondence with it, and in the following year the Yearly Meeting of New York gave it the same evidence of religious fellowship.

Soon after the separation, measures were taken to ascertain the relative numbers of the two parties, and the following census, "so far as ascertained up to the year 1829," was produced and vouched for in the testimony of Halliday Jackson.[1]

		TOTAL.
1. PHILADELPHIA QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, including men, women, and minors,	2676	
Number of those called Orthodox, including men, women, and minors,	2643	
Number of Neutrals, or those undecided,	14	
		5333
2. ABINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, including men, women, and minors,	2829	
Number of those called Orthodox, including men, women, and minors,	321	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	3	
		3153
Carried over,		8486

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 461.

		TOTAL.
	Brought forward,	8486
3. BUCKS QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	2831	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	489	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	16	
		3336
4. CONCORD QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	2573	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	788	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	75	
		3436
5. WESTERN QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	2296	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	454	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	70	
		2820
6. CALN QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	921	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	557	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided,	175	
		1653

The numbers in the following Quarterly meetings were ascertained under commissions issued from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for Eastern District.

7. SOUTHERN QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	501	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors,	30	
		531
8. BURLINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	1049	
Number of those called Orthodox,	800	
		1849
Carried over,		22,111

		TOTAL.
Brought forward,		22,111
9. HADDONFIELD QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	821	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors, ...	789	
Number of Neutrals, or undecided, . .	76	
		1686
10. SALEM QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	1238	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors, ...	298	
		1536
11. SHREWSBURY AND RAHWAY QUARTERLY MEETING.		
Number of Friends, men, women, and minors,	750	
Number of those called Orthodox, men, women, and minors, ...	175	
		925
Total,		26,258
Aggregate of Friends, as far as ascertained, within the Yearly Meeting, up to 1829, ...		18,485
Aggregate of those called Orthodox, to same period,		7,344
Aggregate of Neutrals, or undecided, "		429
Total,		26,258

In 21 Monthly meetings in Pennsylvania the numbers were taken as both parties stood at the division.

It is proper to observe that this census differs somewhat from a statement furnished by Thomas Evans, an Orthodox witness, in relation to six of the Quarterly meetings, viz., Philadelphia, Caln, Burlington, Haddonfield, Salem, and Shrewsbury and Rahway.[1] According to his statement, those whom he calls "Hicksites," in these six Quarters, numbered 6123, being 1332 less than the census, and the Orthodox numbered 7241, being 1979 more than the census. As there were but

[1] Foster's Report, II. 495.

few of the Orthodox party in the other five Quarters, they did not deem it expedient to offer any statement of their number. If the statement of Thomas Evans were substituted, as far as it goes, for that of Halliday Jackson, the result would be, in the whole Yearly Meeting, 17,153 Friends, and 9323 orthodox Friends.

CHAPTER XVI.

SEPARATIONS IN NEW YORK, OHIO, INDIANA, AND BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETINGS.

THE elements of discord, which led to the separation in Philadelphia, existed to some extent in other Yearly meetings, and the intimate relations they maintained with each other could not fail to bring the subjects of controversy under the notice of all.

The Yearly Meeting, composed of Friends of New York, Vermont, Connecticut, and the province of Canada, convened in the city of New York on Second-day, the 26th of Fifth month, 1828. In the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held on the Seventh day preceding, John Barrow, who had been clerk the year before, opened the meeting as usual, and at the close of the first sitting the representatives remained together to nominate a clerk. When the meeting convened in the afternoon, one of the representatives reported that they had agreed to propose John Barrow as clerk; soon after which another of the representatives signified that the name proposed was not their choice. It appeared that the representatives were divided into two parties, each of which had a name to propose, and each claiming to be the greater number.

As there was much diversity of sentiment and no decision could be made in unity, John Barrow wrote a minute, stating, in substance, that, "as there was no choice on the part of the representatives, and the meeting was evidently not united on any Friend to serve as clerk, the present clerk was requested to serve until the meeting was more united." His understanding of this minute was, as he subsequently stated, that he should serve until the next sitting.[1] He accordingly did so, and then, after the withdrawal of the orthodox party, he was appointed clerk.

When the Yearly Meeting for Discipline assembled on Second-day morning, Samuel Parsons, the clerk who had been appointed the year previous, took his seat at the table, but he did not observe the usual custom of bringing with him the book of minutes, nor did he lay on the table the reports from the Quarterly meetings.[2] He read an opening minute, and called the names of the representatives from a slip of paper he held in his hand. It was then his duty, according to usage, to read the reports from the Quarterly meetings, but at this juncture Thos. Shillitoe, a minister from England, rose and stated that a large number of individuals were there who had been regularly disowned, and in strong terms he protested against the meeting's proceeding with its business while these persons were present. He alluded to Friends from Philadelphia, who were members of the reorganized Yearly Meeting. This interference by a member of another yearly meeting was a step that ought to have been discountenanced as indecorous; but it was seconded by several prominent members of the orthodox party. Nicholas Brown, of

[1] Test. of J. Barrow, Foster's Rep., Vol. II. pp. 261, 270.

[2] Test. of S. Parsons, Foster's Rep., I. 178.

Canada West, a minister and a member of New York Yearly Meeting, urged the clerk to read the reports from the Quarterly meetings, and then, the meeting being properly opened, the subject that had been mentioned might claim its attention. Elias Hicks deprecated the discussion of that subject as being calculated to lower the dignity of the meeting. He thought the Friends alluded to had as good a right to sit as any who were present. The discussion was continued for some time with much warmth, until an orthodox minister proposed that those who were opposed to the sitting of the persons alluded to should retire to the basement story, which was united with by several of that party. Nicholas Brown then remarked, that after the proposition they had just heard, it was time the meeting should act with decision; — that the person at the table was not disposed to serve the meeting, but *a party*, — that he had not brought the book of minutes, — and that his intention evidently was, to separate from the meeting and take its books and papers. He expressed his opposition to anything like an adjournment, and suggested that the representatives should name a clerk that would serve the meeting. This proposition being united with by many, — the representatives, most of whom had been previously together in conference on the subject, named Samuel Mott for clerk.[1]

Samuel Parsons then rose with a paper in his hand, which he proposed to read. Many persons, suspecting it was a minute of adjournment, strenuously objected to his reading it, while the orthodox party insisted that he should proceed. Elias Hicks suggested

[1] Narrative of Thos. McClintock; see The Fd. or Adv. of Truth. Vol. I. p. 186.

that he should be permitted to read it, and then the meeting would be able to judge. Samuel Parsons said it was not a minute of adjournment, and he proceeded to read what he called a "minute for continuing the sitting of the Yearly Meeting in the basement story of the meeting-house." When he reached that part of it which stated, that "the Pennsylvania intruders were *unsound in principle and disorderly in practice*,"[1] the meeting was deeply agitated, and the noise became so great that the reading could not be heard.

Samuel Mott, being called to go to the table, made an effort to ascend the gallery steps, but the way being closed, he was obliged to step over the gallery-rail, and by the time he reached the table, Samuel Parsons had nearly finished reading his minute, which, though inaudible to the meeting at large, seemed to be understood by his party. They immediately withdrew, and finding the basement story locked, they proceeded to the Medical Hall which had been previously offered to them.

About two hundred and forty-five individuals, including twenty of the representatives, withdrew; while those who remained numbered about seven hundred, including sixty-three representatives.[2]

It is obvious that the minute read by Samuel Parsons was not the act of the meeting, but was made to suit the views of a small minority.

A separation took place, on the afternoon of the same day, in the women's Yearly Meeting, by the withdrawal of the orthodox party; but not having

[1] Test. of S. Parsons, Foster's Report, Vol. I. p. 181.

[2] Test. of H. Jackson, and Exhibit O, Foster's Report, Vol. II. pp. 69 and 459.

the clerk with them, they did not take the books and papers, as had been done in the men's meeting.

After the secession of the Orthodox party, the Yearly Meeting continued its deliberations in entire harmony, and issued an Epistle of Advice to its members, from which the following passage is selected:—

"Such, dear friends, being the state of our affairs, we may anticipate difficulty in our subordinate and lesser meetings from those who have separated themselves. Of the trials which will be attendant on the present state of things among us, in our Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative meetings, we wish affectionately to apprise you. And, dear friends, we entreat you humbly to seek for counsel and direction at the Divine fountain of all true wisdom. We desire that on all occasions we may be actuated by a spirit of tenderness and love towards those who have gone from us, and that our conduct may give evidence that we are governed by those truly Christian principles under the influence of which we cannot render railing for railing, but, contrariwise, blessing;—under the influence of these blessed principles we shall be preserved from a spirit of accusation and denunciation towards any who may differ in opinion on points not involving the practice of Christian virtues. We shall hence be willing to concede to others those inestimable privileges which we claim for ourselves, and shall not be found violating the divine rule, 'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.' And thus, while we temperately but firmly maintain our rights, we shall not encroach upon the rights of others. But humbly relying on the guidance and direction of the Spirit of Christ,

we shall know it to be the 'wisdom of God and the power of God,' and shall experience the unity of his Holy Spirit to be the bond of peace in all our assemblies. Since the separation has taken place, our meeting has continued large, and we have been able to rejoice in the evidence of this blessed unity in which the affairs of the Church have been harmoniously transacted, and Friends have been edified together."

In the year 1828 or '29, the Meeting for Sufferings sent a circular to all the Monthly meetings composing the Yearly Meeting, requesting them to appoint committees in each meeting, to examine carefully the number of persons composing each Monthly meeting, designating the number of Friends, the number that had separated, and those who remained neutral.

The returns showed the following result: —

Friends, 12,532; Orthodox, 5,913; Neutrals, 857.[1]

In the autumn of 1828, a separation took place in Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, attended by a scene of disorder and tumult painful to contemplate and mortifying to both parties who were engaged in it. As it became the subject of judicial investigation, our chief reliance for a knowledge of the facts will be drawn from the testimony of witnesses given in evidence before Judge Hallock at Steubenville, Ohio.

The Yearly Meeting which met at Mount Pleasant, was composed of five Quarterly meetings, namely, Redstone, Short Creek, Salem, Stillwater, and New Garden, in all of which, except the first, the separation had already taken place, and each party had ap-

[1] Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 263, 463.

pointed representatives; so that there were in attendance double sets of representatives from all the Quarters except Redstone.[1] In each of the four divided Quarterly meetings, the orthodox section had appointed guards to keep the doors of the Yearly meeting-house, and exclude persons who had been disowned or were under dealings.[2] It had been customary in former years to appoint door-keepers to exclude from the meetings for discipline those who were not members of the Society, and no unpleasant consequences had followed, because there was then no dispute as to rights of membership.

The case was now entirely altered; each party claimed all the rights of membership, and those called Orthodox had already begun to disown their opponents who did not acknowledge the authority of their meetings nor the validity of their excommunications. In order to illustrate this point, the case of Isaac James may be cited, who was one of those intended to be excluded. He was a member of Concord Monthly Meeting, which had consisted of about forty families, of whom only eleven or twelve were orthodox. This small minority, in opposition to the sense of the meeting, applied to Short Creek Quarter to lay down their Monthly Meeting, alleging that it could not be held to the credit of the Society. A minute was accordingly made to lay it down and attach the members to Short Creek Monthly Meeting, but a large majority of the members refused to submit to this arbitrary measure, and Isaac James

[1] Testimony of Elisha Bates, Report of Trial by M. T. C. Gould, p. 20.

[2] Test. of E. Bates, Jonathan Taylor, and D. Steer, Ibid. pp. 21, 33, 65.

being one of this number, was, *for that reason*, disowned by the Orthodox party.[1]

In like manner, Plainfield Monthly Meeting was laid down by the Orthodox party, in opposition to the wishes of nine-tenths of its members.[2]

The principle on which these proceedings were conducted was avowed in the testimony of Elisha Bates, the most prominent among the leaders of that party, and subsequently clerk of their Yearly Meeting.

Question. "Does the majority usually disown, or the minority?" *Answer*, by E. Bates. "In some cases a minority may do it." *Question.* "If a meeting be composed of fifty members, is it in the power of ten to disown forty?" "Yes." "Is it in the power of three to disown forty-seven?" "Yes; a very small number may do it."[3]

The guards were instructed to exclude from the meetings for discipline, not only those who, like Isaac James, were regarded by the Orthodox party as disowned persons, but also Friends standing in the same position, who should attend from other Yearly meetings, where a separation had taken place.

A large number of ministers and other Friends were in attendance from distant meetings. Among them were Thomas Shillitoe, and Isaac and Anna Braithwait from England; Elias Hicks from Long Island, Amos Peaslee from New Jersey, Elisha Dawson from Delaware, and Halliday Jackson from Darby, Pennsylvania.

On Seventh-day morning preceding the Yearly Meeting, a committee of six persons called on Elias

[1] Testimony of David Steer, (an orthodox witness,) p. 66.

[2] Testimony of Peter Askew, p. 56, and of Doct. Carrol, p. 117.

[3] Testimony of Elisha Bates, p. 20.

Hicks, and presented him a paper, the purport of which was, an enumeration of charges of unsound ministry, as originally preferred against him by Pine Street Meeting, Philadelphia, and thence forwarded to their Orthodox brethren on Long Island, styling themselves the Monthly Meeting of Westbury and Jericho. **Elias Hicks had with him a minute of concurrence from the Monthly Meeting of Jericho, indorsed by Westbury Quarterly Meeting, and when he left home, no such monthly meeting as Westbury and Jericho was known to exist. It appears that three adult male members and about the same number of females withdrew from Jericho Monthly Meeting, and joining themselves with about double their number from Westbury Monthly Meeting, set** up a new monthly meeting, which they called Westbury and Jericho.[1] This small body undertook to sit in judgment on the religious character of Elias Hicks, and after he had departed on his journey to Ohio, they issued a mandate for his recall. He of course disregarded this unwarrantable proceeding.

When the hour arrived, on Seventh-day morning, for the Meeting of Ministers and Elders to convene, "it was found that the Orthodox had principally taken their seats, and that guards were stationed at the gate to prevent Friends from entering; and they accordingly, in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, after procuring seats, sat down and proceeded with their meeting in the open air."[2]

On First-day morning, a large congregation was

[1] Westbury Meeting had 341 Friends and 39 Orthodox; Jericho Meeting had 211 Friends, 9 Orthodox, and 3 Neutrals. See Exhibit X, Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 464.

[2] Statement of M. T. C. Gould, Friend or Adv. of Truth, I. 251.

assembled for divine worship at the yearly meeting-house. Elias Hicks delivered a discourse, "which was deemed by those not avowedly opposed to him, quite unexceptionable." The moment he was seated, Elisha Bates rose, and made a speech in which he asserted that Elias "had not only obtained his certificates to travel, by improper means, but was now formally and officially recalled by *his own Monthly Meeting*, a copy of the official papers being served on him only the day previous."[1] This false statement uttered in the presence of a large audience, most of whom knew nothing of the circumstances, will enable us to decide how much reliance may be placed on the other statements of Elisha Bates. It is not surprising that he was unwilling for the people to hear Elias Hicks when he rose to reply, and that he joined with others in breaking the meeting while Elias was standing.

It appears by the statement of M. T. C. Gould, the stenographer, that when T. Shillitoe and Anna Braithwait had shaken hands, the people seemed disposed to remain and hear Elias Hicks,—and that Elisha Bates in a loud and authoritative manner requested them to withdraw immediately, so that the caretakers might close the house. In order to end the confusion that ensued, Elias shook hands with those near him and walked out, the great body of the meeting following his example. Some young men that remained were told, by a lawyer employed for the occasion, that they would subject themselves to severe penalties if they did not retire.[2]

[1] Statement of M. T. C. Gould, Friend or Adv. of Truth, I. 251.
[2] Ibid. 252.

On First-day afternoon, Elisha Dawson delivered a brief discourse. Soon after him, Amos Peaslee rose and spoke "in a very feeling manner," but several ministers in the gallery whispered together, and at length Jonathan Taylor requested him to take his seat. He paused during the interruption, and then continued his discourse.

In a short time, Elisha Bates rose, and in a loud voice exclaimed, "Amos Peaslee, wilt thou please to take thy seat. Thou art an intruder, and hast no right to be in this house." Immediately there was a cry from many voices, "Elisha Bates, sit down!" Great confusion ensued, and many rose to their feet. After a pause, Amos said to the people, "By the mercy of God, I beseech you to be still." The meeting became quiet, and he concluded his discourse without further interruption.[1]

Amos Peaslee was then travelling as an approved minister, with a certificate from Woodbury Monthly Meeting, New Jersey. That meeting, however, had been divided before the certificate was granted; a small minority of its members, being orthodox, had withdrawn to hold a separate meeting.[2]

At 10 o'clock, on Second-day, the 8th of Ninth month, the Yearly Meeting assembled. The gallery seats were filled, mostly with orthodox Friends, before the hour appointed; there were many guards at the doors, and a crowd of people in the yard standing in the rain. Some of them were Friends of the class intended to be excluded; others were not mem-

[1] Testimony of David Scholfield, p. 130; Richard Barnard, p. 97, and J. Updegraff, p. 136.

[2] Testimony of Richard Barnard, 99.

bers, but were drawn by curiosity to witness the expected collision.

Elias Hicks did not attend that day.[1]

When Amos Peaslee and Elisha Dawson came to the door, the guards objected to their entering, and they halted. A dense crowd soon gathered behind them, pressing forward. Amos said, "Dear friends, don't push, be peaceable; if we are not admitted, we can't help it. If we can go in peaceably, well; if not, we will go away." The pressure from without continued to increase; there was no way of escape for those at the door; the guards at length gave way, and the crowd rushed in, carrying the Friends with them.[2]

Before the meeting proceeded to business, Israel French, a Friend in good standing, rose and said, that "a painful duty devolved upon him, to object to the clerks at the table; that their conduct since last year had been such as, in his opinion, had disqualified them for serving the meeting acceptably."[3] There was immediately a large expression of unity with this declaration; but some objected, saying it was disorderly.

Jonathan Taylor, the clerk appointed the year previous, was at the table, as usual, and read a minute he had prepared for opening the meeting. The names of the representatives were called, all of whom, except five, answered; the number present exceeding fifty. It is to be understood that these were the representatives of the orthodox section of four Quarterly meetings, and about half of those from Redstone.

William B. Irish proposed the name of David Hilles, of Redstone Quarter, for clerk, which was con-

[1] See his Journal, p. 413. [2] Test. of Levi Pickering, p. 124.
[3] Testimony of Israel French, p. 173.

curred in by a large number of voices in rapid succession; others objected; but the advocates of a change of clerks called to Hilles to come forward to the table. The aisle was crowded, and the gallery-steps leading to the table were occupied by a dense mass of orthodox Friends. Hilles was urged forward through the crowd, until he reached the stove near the centre of the aisle, where he wrote an opening minute; but the young men of his party insisted that he should go to the table, and they undertook to open the way. No blows were given, but there was much pushing and crowding. At this juncture a cry was raised that the gallery over the minister's seat was falling. Although a false alarm, it caused a rush to the doors and windows, and many left the house. There was a suspension of the contest, but it was soon renewed, and the clerk's table, being held by one party and seized by the other, was broken to pieces.

Jonathan Taylor, being pressed between the table and door, was considerably injured, though unintentionally. Benjamin W. Ladd, a prominent member of the orthodox party, moved an adjournment to the next day, and proposed submitting the question to the representatives, whose names were accordingly called, and they nearly all answered in the affirmative. The orthodox members then withdrew, being about half the meeting, or, according to their estimate, more than half.[1]

The Friends who remained recognized David Hilles as clerk for the day. They had reports from their section of four Quarterly meetings, and from the un-

[1] Testimony of E. Bates, Jona. Taylor, B. W. Ladd, Rich. Barnard, Doct. Carral, Levi Pickering, and others. Gould's Report of Trial, Phila. ed. 1829.

divided meeting of Redstone. After calling the names of the representatives, they proceeded to business.

The women's meeting separated at the same time, but with less disorder.

On Third-day morning, those who had retained possession of the house again assembled in it, and the representatives having conferred together, proposed David Hilles for clerk and Jehu Lewis for assistant, who were then regularly appointed by the meeting. The orthodox section of the Yearly Meeting, having assembled in the yard, sent Elisha Bates and others as a deputation to demand the occupancy of the house for Ohio Yearly Meeting. They were told, in reply, that Ohio Yearly Meeting was then in session, and they might come in and take their seats. They required an explicit answer, and Friends in the house tendered them the following proposition, viz.:

"*To the party of Friends called Orthodox, styling themselves the Yearly Meeting of Ohio.*

"DEAR FRIENDS, — We, the committee appointed by Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Mount Pleasant, on the 8th day of the 9th month, 1828, by authority of said Yearly Meeting, agree to propose to you that an equitable division of the property belonging to the Yearly Meeting be made, either by dividing the time, so that the meeting-house shall accommodate both parties, or that a fair estimate of the value of the property be made, and that the party holding the meeting-house pay to the other party an equivalent for the relinquishment of the right to their part, agreeably to the numbers of the relative parties; and if you accede to this proposal, it is further proposed,

that you appoint a like committee to enter into an amicable arrangement with us to effect the said object, and notify us thereof. Signed by direction and on behalf of the committee.

"*Mount Pleasant*, 9th day of 9th mo., 1828.

JOSEPH JOHN,
SAMUEL JONES,
JAMES BELANGEE,
JOSEPH MILLS."

This document was read twice to Elisha Bates, the official organ of the Orthodox party, and a copy tendered to him, but he immediately withdrew with the other members of the deputation.[1]

The Orthodox Yearly Meeting was then opened in the meeting-house yard; the representatives nominated Elisha Bates for clerk, who was accordingly appointed, and the meeting adjourned to Short Creek meeting-house, where it continued to hold its sittings.[2]

The legal measures adopted by the orthodox party during the week of the Yearly Meeting were most extraordinary for a people professing to hold the principles of Friends. On Second-day morning, at an early hour, Elisha Bates stated that they were in possession of the property, and that civil officers would be in attendance to protect them. Soon after this, notices were served on a number of Friends from other yearly meetings, among whom was Jesse Merrit, the travelling companion of Elias Hicks, to prohibit them

[1] Statement of M. T. C. Gould, Friend or Adv. of Truth, I. p. 258.

[2] Testimony of D. Scholfield, p. 130; Wm. Sharon, p. 123; E. Bates, p. 16.

from entering the meeting-house during the session of Ohio Yearly Meeting, and to forewarn them that if they intruded, the trustees would seek their remedy by appeal to the legal tribunals of the State of Ohio.[1]

On Third-day afternoon, the sheriff served a process on James Tolerton, Halliday Jackson, and Nathan Galbraith, requiring their appearance before the court then in session at Steubenville, the next morning at ten o'clock, it being a distance of twenty-one miles. One of them attended accordingly, and found the writ had not been returned.

On Fourth-day morning, two deputy sheriffs and a constable arrived from Steubenville, and in the course of the day served writs on about a dozen individuals, among whom was David Hilles, clerk of the Yearly Meeting. The next day he, with other defendants and witnesses, proceeded to Steubenville, appeared before the court, and succeeded in obtaining a postponement of the hearing until the 15th of 10th month. "Among the thirty orthodox Friends who appeared at Steubenville, on the part of the prosecution, were Elisha Bates and Jonathan Taylor, of Mount Pleasant, and a number of distinguished individuals from Philadelphia, New England, and beyond the Atlantic."[2] It appears that these high-professors of religion left their own Yearly Meeting to appear as prosecutors and witnesses against their brethren, in violation of the discipline, for at that time David Hilles, who was one of the representatives from Redstone Quarterly Meeting, had not been disowned by the Orthodox,

[1] See copy of Notice, in The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. p. 254.

[2] Narrative of M. T. C. Gould, Fd. or Adv. of Truth, I. 260.

and according to their own theory was a member of the Society.

Jonathan Taylor, in his testimony before the court, admitted that "David Hilles was a regular member of the Society at the time this suit was brought," and said, "he *believed* the discipline provided that members should not sue one another and go to law."[1]

The trial at Steubenville came on the 15th of 10th month, and the examination of witnesses continued about a week. The defendants, David Hilles and Isaac James, were prosecuted on the complaint of Benjamin W. Ladd for disturbing the Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, under a statute for the punishment of disturbers of religious meetings. In addition to the State's attorney, the prosecutors had employed seven lawyers, and the defendants had four. The material facts of the case have been stated in this narrative, as related in the report of the stenographer who attended the trial.

Judge Hallock, after reviewing the evidence, says: "It is to be observed that not all the 'Orthodox' or 'Hicksites' took part in this violence. Probably much the greater part of both parties were inactive spectators."—"The proposition to elect a clerk was not in order, being before the meeting was open and ready to proceed to business,—and unprecedented, at any rate, in any body whose proceedings would have the authority of precedent for that meeting." * * * * He then concludes that the proceedings by a part of the meeting "to expel Taylor and put Hilles in his place were not warranted; and that the use of force was a disturbance of the meeting, and therefore a

[1] Gould's Report of Trial, p. 181.

violation of the law of the land." He gave judgment that each of the defendants should pay a fine of five dollars.[1] The Orthodox party were not satisfied with one suit at law, but about the same time, and through the same agent, Benjamin W. Ladd, instituted a prosecution against Jonathan Pierce, Israel French, and other Friends, for "assembling with intent to commit a riot and proceeding to commit the same." It was founded on the same facts as the suit against Hilles and James, and was tried in the court of common pleas at Steubenville in the Spring of 1829. The court decided that the defendants should be imprisoned in the jail of the county for thirty minutes, and should each pay a fine of six and a quarter cents.

The defendants cheerfully submitted to their brief incarceration; but, on the fine and costs, appealed to the Supreme Court of Ohio. In the Tenth month of the same year, the judgment of the inferior court was reversed and the costs of the prosecution thrown upon Benjamin W. Ladd, the agent of the Orthodox party. The Judge said, "it was the verdict of the jury that they had not found the defendants guilty of a riot, and the court (of common pleas) ought to have held it for naught and discharged them."[2]

On reviewing the deplorable scenes that attended the separation of Friends in Ohio, the impartial inquirer will be constrained to admit that both parties were obnoxious to censure. There was however this difference: the Orthodox party were the aggressors by resorting to physical force to exclude from the

[1] M. T. C. Gould's Report of Trial.

[2] The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. 261; and Vol. II. pp. 166 and 360.

meeting-house Friends who had as good a right to enter as themselves; — this they did by previous concert, and with a deliberate purpose. The Friends, whom they attempted to exclude, generally went to the meeting intending "to be pacific," in accordance with the advice of their elder brethren.[1] The conduct of some of them, after entering the house, was very reprehensible, but it appears they were mostly young men, actuated by a sudden impulse of party zeal. After obtaining possession, the Friends evinced their sense of justice by offering to make an equitable division of the property; while the Orthodox party manifested their intolerant spirit, by harassing their brethren with vexatious lawsuits, thus violating the discipline they pretended to uphold.

The relative numbers of the two sections throughout the Yearly Meeting of Ohio were supposed to be nearly equal, but so far as known to the author, no census was taken.

In Indiana Yearly Meeting, the separation was conducted in a manner somewhat similar to that pursued in Philadelphia. At the Yearly Meeting held at Richmond, Indiana, in 1827, a large number of strangers were present, among whom were two English Friends and Elisha Bates, with others from Ohio. A document called a "Testimony and Epistle of Advice," was introduced from the Meeting for Sufferings, and though much objected to, was adopted, through the preponderating influence of the orthodox party. This being sent down to the subordinate meetings, caused much dissatisfaction in some places.

[1] Testimony of Israel Updegraff, p. 150.

In the Fifth month, 1828, it was rejected by Miami Quarterly Meeting and denied a place on their minutes. In the Eighth month, another effort was made at that Quarter to obtain its acceptance, but without effect. Amos Peaslee and Elisha Dawson being in attendance, the orthodox party objected to any business being transacted while they were present, and having the clerk on their side, many hours were spent in fruitless debate. At length a committee, that had been appointed at a previous Quarterly meeting to nominate a clerk, brought forward the name of one, whom the great body of the meeting agreed to appoint, and then the orthodox party withdrew, leaving the greater number in possession of the house.

The Friends who remained, taking into consideration the discord that had been manifested in their meeting and many others for some time past, and being convinced that they could not enjoy their religious rights while connected with the opposite party, concluded it would be right to take measures for reorganizing the Yearly Meeting, "on the ancient foundation and principles of the Society, and in accordance with their present discipline for the Friends of Indiana, Illinois, and the western and middle parts of the State of Ohio." Members of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings within those limits, who were prepared to unite with this proposition, were invited to meet at Miami, (Waynesville,) the last Second day of the Ninth month, and the ministers and elders on the Seventh day preceding.

In pursuance of this proposition, a Yearly meeting was held, said to be attended by between six and seven hundred Friends including both sexes, and

representatives with reports from four Quarterly meetings, where a division had taken place, were in attendance.[1]

The Yearly Meeting was harmonious and satisfactory. It was subsequently held alternately at Waynesville, Ohio, and Richmond, Ind., and being recognized by the Yearly meetings of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Ohio, has continued to correspond with them. The number of its members is much smaller than those constituting the Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Indiana.

At the Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore for the Western Shore of Maryland and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, from the 27th to the 31st of the Tenth month, 1828, the meeting was opened as usual on Second-day morning. After the certificates of Friends in attendance from other Yearly meetings had been read, and a committee appointed to prepare indorsements for them, the assistant clerk informed the meeting that there were a number of epistles and other documents on the table, with the nature of which they were unacquainted, and he proposed, for the purpose of preventing debate, that they should be referred to the representatives, for them to inspect, and say whether any or all of them should be read in the meeting. This proposition was united with generally, and adopted.

On the afternoon of the same day, George Jones, a minister from England, endeavored, without success, to effect a separation.[2] He objected to the course

[1] The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. pp. 88, 98, and Vol. II. pp. 137 to 140.

[2] Testimony of Halliday Jackson, Foster's Report, Vol. II. p. 70.

pursued in referring the epistle to the representatives for examination, and to accepting the certificates of Friends in attendance from Yearly meetings; which, he alleged, had departed from the principles of Friends. He concluded his remarks in these words: "As my mind is thoroughly sensible of the truth, that this meeting has departed from the ancient doctrines of the Society, I cannot consider it right to be one with you in a meeting that has departed from the meetings of Friends, or one that will thus disown the order that has been maintained by the Society. Therefore I must leave the meeting, and leave you to such choice as you have made."[1]

As he pronounced the last few words, he descended from the minister's gallery and left the house, but, with one exception, his orthodox brethren were not then prepared to follow him.

On Third-day morning, the Answers to the Queries were read, and some edifying counsel handed forth. In the afternoon, the representatives produced an epistle addressed to all the Yearly meetings of Friends, which was discussed during the remainder of the sitting, but not adopted by the meeting.

On Fourth-day morning, the representatives reported in favor of reading all the epistles that had been received. They were read accordingly. The epistle from London, and those from the Orthodox Yearly meetings of Ohio and Virginia, were regarded by many as uncharitable and disrespectful. Those from the reorganized Yearly meetings of Philadelphia and Indiana, and from the larger body in New York,

[1] Reported by a stenographer; see Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. II. 92.

were affectionate and satisfactory. It was stated that a similar epistle from *Friends* in Ohio had been written, but was not received. John Jewett, in some impressive remarks, showed that the Yearly Meeting must define its position, inasmuch as the Friends with whom we had corresponded in Philadelphia were, in some of the epistles, called Separatists, and charged with insubordination. He had attended their meeting, and was prepared to say they were the great body of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and the charges laid against them of disbelieving the Scriptures and denying the divinity of Christ were utterly false.

Edward Stabler and Thomas Wetherald concurred in these views. "They are," said the latter, "our brethren in suffering—in doctrine, and in the fellowship of the everlasting truth, and are equally with ourselves alluded to in the false declarations which one of these epistles contains. For they are false and uncharitable assertions. We have not denied the Scriptures; we have not denied the divinity of Christ; we have not denied the fundamental principles of our Society. We highly esteem them,—and I am willing to suffer for them, even to the laying down of my natural life; but I am not willing to commute the independence of this Yearly Meeting, nor to crouch to any associations of men." * * * * He concluded his remarks as follows: "I am willing now to return to the first proposition, whether the epistle from Friends of Philadelphia shall be received, and whether we can acknowledge them as our brethren or not? For my part, I can."

"A very general expression of unity with Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and in favor of an-

swering their epistle, now took place. A committee was accordingly appointed to answer the three friendly epistles, viz., those from Philadelphia, Indiana, and New York; and the clerks were directed to prepare a suitable minute expressive of the judgment of the meeting."[1]

On Fourth-day afternoon, Edward Stabler proposed that the epistle produced by the representatives at a former sitting should be again referred to them, with instructions to alter or amend it as they might see proper. After some discussion, the proposition was agreed to. It was then concluded to adjourn to the next morning, but before the minute to that effect was read, James Gillingham rose and said it was now obvious that this meeting had separated itself from the Society of Friends, and he proposed that all who were in favor of holding Baltimore Yearly Meeting on its original foundation, should meet the next morning at 9 o'clock, at the McKendrean schoolhouse. Hugh Balderston concurred in the proposition, and advised all who were in favor of it to keep their seats till the close of the meeting, to prevent any disorder. At the close of the sitting, these two individuals went into the women's meeting, which was still in session, to notify them in like manner.

On Fifth-day morning, the meeting assembled, and proved to be large. Only two representatives, out of fifty-three, were missing, and the largest estimated number of the orthodox who had withdrawn was one hundred and thirty-five, including both sexes.[2]

[1] Stenographer's Report, Friend or Advocate of Truth, Vol. II. pp. 110, 112.

[2] Test of Halliday Jackson, Foster's Report, II. 70.

Among these were some whose absence was mourned by many. The honorable conduct of the orthodox brethren in retiring without making confusion, was commended by Thomas Wetherald. He considered their withdrawal, with the avowed intention of setting up another meeting, a relinquishment of their rights of membership; and having seen the bad effects of *disownments* in other Yearly meetings, he thought some step ought to be taken to avoid the unpleasant consequences which had resulted from this mode of procedure.[1]

This suggestion was adopted by the meeting, and a minute to that effect was made; stating moreover, that "such persons cannot be again restored without making application to the Monthly Meeting within the limits of which they reside, requesting to be reinstated in their rights of membership." It may be added, that in such cases of restoration, *no acknowledgments are required.*

The Yearly Meeting was continued by adjournments until Sixth-day afternoon. The representatives again produced the epistle divested of its objectionable passages, and after some further amendments, it was adopted and addressed, "To the Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings, which constitute this Yearly Meeting, and to our members individually." In this document the following passage occurs. "Divers charges have been circulated against us: such as that we contemn the authority of the Scriptures, and deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Which charges,

[1] The Friend or Adv. of Truth, Vol. II. p. 191.

however strenuously urged, and however often reiterated, are nevertheless unfounded."

In accordance with a proposition brought up from Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, a rule of discipline was adopted, that elders should be appointed by the Monthly meetings at least once in three years, and members of the Meeting for Sufferings by the Yearly Meeting annually.

The separation did not extend to the Yearly meetings of New England, North Carolina, and Virginia, which are of the class called Orthodox. The Yearly Meeting of Virginia, being very small, has since been discontinued, and the Yearly Meeting of New England has been divided by the secession of those called Wilburites.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROPERTY QUESTION.

At the time of the separation, the Society of Friends in America was in possession of a large amount of real and personal estate, generally held in trust for religious and educational purposes. It became a question of deep importance, how and by whom this property should be held, and unhappily it proved to be, in some of the States, a subject of litigation.

The following remarks by a distinguished member of the bar in Philadelphia are deemed appropriate. "If Friends could have come to an amicable and equitable division of property, they would have set an example to the world of more value than the property to be thereby sacrificed, fitting to be recorded with

the history of their leading and glorious triumphs of principle, when they treated with and paid the Indians for lands that by chartered right were already the Proprietary's; when as pioneers they secured religious toleration; and when, obedient to the calls of humanity, they enfranchised their slaves, and zealously co-operated for the abolition of the slave-trade.

"In scriptural authority, they had before them the beautiful and persuasive example of Abraham and Lot, — each willing to yield to the other the right to take to the right or to the left, for the enjoyment of what a bountiful Providence had amply supplied for their flocks and herds, and their households and people.

"In respect to the legal right so to have adjusted the rights of property, when it is considered that it is a cherished principle of our jurisprudence to favour amicable settlements, and that family compacts made for the determination of controversy, are upheld as of sacred obligation, because they avert litigation and preserve peace, it could hardly be doubted that the tribunals of justice would meet in the same spirit and most willingly affirm the amicable treaties of divided religious associations. Can this be questioned when the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has reiterated the recommendation that the litigant members of a divided religious society should 'part in peace, having settled their claims to the property on the basis of mutual and liberal concession,' and expressed the confident trust that even in the contingency of revolution, 'to the justice and forbearance of the majority of the association, whose very object is to deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly, the minority cannot appeal in vain'? 1 W. and S., 40."[1]

[1] Memoir of Philip and Rachel Price, p. 123.

Friends composing the Yearly meetings of Philadelphia, New York, and Ohio acted upon the principles established in their rules of discipline, and proposed to their Orthodox brethren an equitable division of the property in proportion to their respective numbers; but these offers were generally declined, and suits at law were instituted by the Orthodox, discreditable to themselves, and oppressive to their brethren.

In most of the country meetings belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the Orthodox party being a small minority, withdrew and left Friends in possession of the meeting-houses; but the burial-grounds continued to be used in common without either party attempting to exclude the others, or interfere with their arrangements in the interment of their dead.

In the city of Philadelphia, the five Monthly meetings, viz., the Northern District, the Southern District, the Middle District, the Western District, and Green Street Monthly Meeting, purchased, in the year 1818, a lot on Schuylkill 7th and Mulberry streets, for the *use of all these meetings*, and it was for that purpose vested in fifteen trustees, three of whom were appointed by each Monthly meeting. Subsequently this lot was designated as a burial-place for the *common use of the five Monthly meetings*. In order to the preservation and regulation of this cemetery, two persons were appointed by each Monthly meeting, forming a committee of ten.

In addition to this general committee, each Monthly meeting appointed a burial committee, under whose orders the bodies of deceased Friends were interred in the Western Burial Ground. Under this arrangement the five Monthly meetings enjoyed the common use of the property in harmony for some years.

But after the alleged laying down of Green Street Monthly Meeting by the Orthodox section of Philadelphia Quarter, as already related, the two members of the committee of ten appointed by Green Street Meeting were not recognized by the other members of that committee. Except in a few instances, the orders for the interment of its deceased members, given by their burial committee, were disregarded by the superintendent of the burial-ground, acting under the supposed authority of a majority of the committee of ten; the gate was closed against approaching funerals of its late members, and in order to their interment, the Friends of Green Street found it necessary to enter the enclosure by means of ladders, and force the fastenings from the gate.[1] It is proper here to remark, that this method of entering would not have been necessary, had the members of Green Street Meeting been willing to receive orders for the interment of their dead from the burial committee of the Northern District, to which meeting they had, without their consent, been professedly transferred by the Orthodox section of Philadelphia Quarter. The Green Street Friends could not, without a surrender of their just rights, acknowledge in any way the laying down of their meeting or the transfer of their membership; for the congregation still remained almost entire, the orthodox who had left it were so few as to make no perceptible difference; the Monthly Meeting was recognized as a branch of Abington Quarter, the same discipline was still administered, and the same doctrines professed, as before the separation.

In order to obviate the necessity of breaking the

[1] Opinion of Judge King, see Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. pp. 179 to 185.

lock to gain admission for the interment of their dead, Green Street Monthly Meeting, through its committee, made application to five of the trustees, in whom the property was vested, and obtained from them permission to put a gate in the Western wall of the burial-ground, and to take any other measures that might secure to the meeting the right of interment in conformity with the deed of trust, recognizing a common right with the other Monthly meetings of Philadelphia, "it being understood that the Friends of all the other Monthly meetings should enjoy the privilege of entrance equally with the Friends of Green Street."[1]

In pursuance of this design, on the 31st of 5th month, 1828, Edmund Shotwell, Joseph Lukens, and Charles Middleton (members of Green Street Meeting) proceeded, with the assistance of two colored men, to put a gate in the wall of the burial-ground; and were soon after summoned to appear before the Mayor of the city, "to answer the commonwealth on a charge founded on the affirmation and information of Jeremiah Willets and others, with tumultuously assembling and committing a breach of the public peace, by forcibly pulling down a portion of the brick wall around the Friends' (Western) burying-ground." Jeremiah Willets was a member of the Northern District Meeting, and it appeared that previous to entering his complaint, he had held a consultation with some of the most prominent members of the Orthodox party, at the office of their legal adviser, Horace Binney.

The Mayor, when Shotwell and the other defendants appeared before him, required them to enter

[1] Opinion of Judge King.

into recognizance to keep the peace, although there was no evidence of any violence having been committed or intended. The parties accused, being conscious that they had been in the quiet and peaceable pursuit of their civil rights, and that the decision of the Mayor was unjust, declined to enter into the recognizance, and were committed to jail. After a detention of five days in prison, they were brought, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, before Judge King, and a patient investigation of the case being made, he discharged them.[1]

The Orthodox leaders, being thus defeated in their design, and bent upon litigation, instituted, in the Seventh month 1828, an action for trespass against the same defendants.[2] The suit was brought in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the name of the *fifteen* trustees in whom the title of the burying-ground was vested for the use of the five Monthly meetings; but five of the trustees published a protest against the use of their names as plaintiffs, declaring that the suit was commenced without their knowledge or consent, and "against the established order and discipline of the Society of Friends."

The members of Green Street Monthly Meeting, and Friends in connection with them throughout the Society, were averse to litigation, and disposed to make an amicable and equitable adjustment of their claims in regard to property. This disposition they had manifested on numerous occasions, and now, being solicitous to avoid a lawsuit, they authorized their counsel, C. J. Ingersoll, Thomas Kittera, and Eli K. Price, to make an amicable overture to the

[1] Opinion of Judge King. [2] Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. 205.

prosecutors. This was done accordingly, in a letter addressed to the Counsel for the Plaintiffs, from which the following passage is quoted: "Under existing circumstances, divided as they are, it is not to be expected that they can meet together as formerly; and the only hope of an ultimate union, is, to allow each other, without interruption, to conduct their business and their worship. In order to this, we submit, without prejudice to our clients' rights in any event, the following as a basis of accommodation, which we trust will be found acceptable, and have no doubt would be instantly acceded to by our clients: that a fair and equitable apportionment of the real estate and property, held by trustees for society purposes in this district, be made between the two parties in proportion to the numbers belonging to each, counting all such as were acknowledged members at a period anterior to the adoption of measures by one party purporting to disown the members of the other; say the April Yearly Meeting of 1827. The discipline of this Society, which enjoins the amicable adjustment of these differences, seems to make settlement peculiarly proper in this instance, and greatly desired by the large party who have intrusted to us the management of their cause."

The counsel for the plaintiffs rejected this friendly overture, and we may reasonably conclude they did so under instructions from their clients.

Another proposition was then made by the defendants, through their counsel, to this effect: That, in order "to put a stop to the interruption of funerals and laceration of feeling which occur whenever a burial takes place, that the dead be interred in the burial-grounds of the Society, by such persons as

may have the care of them, upon orders to be issued in the same form and manner as was usual before the dispute arose. This proposition we make without prejudice to our clients' rights if not accepted, and if acceded to, we agree *on their behalf that the arrangement shall be without prejudice to the asserted rights of either party.*"

This reasonable and humane proposition was also rejected by the inexorable prosecutors, who replied through their counsel as follows: "As Green Street Meeting is not now recognized as a Monthly Meeting agreeable to the discipline and usages of the Society of Friends, we are not authorized to say that orders from that source will be received by those having the care of the burial-grounds."[1]

Soon after this suit was commenced, another was instituted in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, by the Orthodox party, having for its object the ejectment of Green Street Friends from their meeting-house and lots. The prosecutors were certain pretended trustees appointed by the Northern District Monthly Meeting, and at their instigation the sheriffs went to Green Street meeting-house on the 17th of the 7th month, 1828, and served the following Friends with process as they came out of the meeting held that day, to wit, Joseph Lukens, George Woolley, Joseph Warner, Gabriel Middleton, and Edmund Shotwell.[2]

The two suits were continued on the docket of the Supreme Court until the year 1831, when they were withdrawn and the costs paid by the Orthodox prosecutors.[3]

[1] Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. p. 282.

[2] See Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. I. p. 231. [3] Ibid. Vol. IV. 175

We may safely infer what would have been the decision of that court, from the judgment it gave in the year 1829, in a cause at issue between the two sections of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia. "By the majority of the court, the right of the minority of the congregation to have a charter under the name of the First Baptist Church, was established; and at the same time an equal right on the part of a majority to obtain a charter under the same name, was admitted, and a charter for them was accordingly submitted for the certificate of the judges. This decision was made expressly on the ground that the grant of a charter under the name of the First Baptist Church, could in no respect affect the rights of property.

"After the opinions were delivered, the Chief Justice made some very just and forcible remarks to the parties, earnestly recommending to them an amicable adjustment of their differences in regard to property. It was evident to him, as was usually the case in these religious disputes, that it was a contest for property carried on in an angry and bitter spirit unbecoming the Christian character. The decision now made would confer no rights of property. These stand as they did before. What is the rule of justice which should govern these parties is plain and palpable to every person of any common sense. It is, that the majority should continue to hold the property; but it is their duty to make compensation to the minority, in proportion to the respective numbers of the parties. This minority have not been deprived of their civil rights, by an expulsion from the church, by a majority exercising an arbitrary power for party purposes. If the majority do not do justice on this

plain principle of natural equity, the minority may pursue their legal remedy, in which the charter will only be a means of facility; when it will probably turn out, that they will be entitled to their proportionate interest in the church property. An adjustment on this principle should be made without further litigation. The frequency of these religious disputes is calculated, not only to lay waste the standing of the parties, but to cut to the very core the cause of the common Master, whom all profess with so much zeal to serve."[1]

This opinion of the Chief Justice was equally applicable to the case of the separation in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. "The majority," he says, "should continue to hold the property, and make compensation to the minority in proportion to the respective numbers of the parties." But the Orthodox section refused to settle on this equitable principle, and not content with holding the most valuable part of the property, they — the *minority of the Yearly Meeting* — claimed the whole.

The course pursued by the Orthodox party in order to obtain the entire control of the Asylum for the Insane at Frankford demands our attention. This institution was founded by members of the Society of Friends, and, according to the provisions of its constitution, none but members of this religious society were eligible to office or even to membership in it. The estate of the institution was held in trust by twelve members, and the government of the Asylum was intrusted to twenty managers, a treasurer, and a clerk, elected annually from among the contributors. At the annual meeting of the contributors, in the spring of 1828, it ap-

[1] Fd. or Adv. of Truth, Vol. II. p. 128.

peared that the managers, a majority of whom were orthodox, had excluded from the board two of their members, Charles Townsend and Joseph Warner, highly respectable Friends, on the ground that they had been disowned by the Orthodox section of the Society; and the same party had brought forward the names of seventy-six new contributors, in order, by their votes, to sanction the action of the managers, and control the proceedings of the meeting. By this means it was intended to exclude not only from the control, but from the benefits of the institution, all the contributors who did not belong to the Orthodox section of the Society, and who had previously constituted a majority of the association. The attempt, as might have been expected, occasioned much excitement, and the meeting was broken up in disorder.[1] But the Orthodox party persisted in their determination, and ultimately succeeded in depriving a large proportion of the contributors and owners of the property of their just rights, and to this day hold exclusive possession of the institution.

In the Eleventh month, 1828, being a few months subsequent to the institution of the two lawsuits in Pennsylvania, the Orthodox party filed a bill in Chancery in the State of New Jersey, which was understood to be with a view to establish their claim to the property of the Society of Friends in that State. It will be remembered that the Yearly Meeting, which assembled in Philadelphia, included within its limits, before the separation, all the meetings of Friends in New Jersey as well as most of those in Pennsylvania. The leading members of the Orthodox party resided

[1] Test. of H. Jackson, Foster's Report, II. 122–128; and Cockburn's Review, pp. 259–262.

in Philadelphia, and they were regarded as the originators of this lawsuit, although Joseph Hendrickson, of New Jersey, was made the complainant. The ostensible object of the suit was to obtain possession of a school-fund belonging to Chesterfield Preparative Meeting, held at Crosswicks, Burlington County, New Jersey. Of this fund the sum of 2000 dollars was lent in the year 1821, by Jos. Hendrickson, treasurer of the Crosswicks school-fund, to Thos. L. Shotwell, who thereupon gave his bond for the same, secured by a mortgage on real estate.

In the 12th month, 1827, a separation took place in Chesterfield Preparative Meeting, when the orthodox party, being about one third of the members, withdrew to another house, and held a separate meeting. Joseph Hendrickson, the treasurer of the school-fund, being one of the minority that withdrew, the larger body appointed, in the following month, Stacy Decow as his successor, and directed him to call on Hendrickson for the moneys and bonds he held as treasurer of the meeting. Hendrickson, being still recognized as treasurer by the orthodox meeting, refused to give up the funds, and demanded of Thos. L. Shotwell the amount of his bond, which the latter declined to pay until the rightful owner should be ascertained.[1]

In the bill filed by Joseph Hendrickson, complainant, against Thos. L. Shotwell, he avers, that the orthodox party to which he belongs, believe in the Divinity and atonement of Christ and the authenticity and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, — doctrines that were held and considered fundamental by the ancient Society of Friends. He says, "That the

[1] Testimony of Saml. Craft and Josiah Gaskill, Foster's Rep., Vol. I. 347, and Vol. II. p. 287.

principal difference between the people called Quakers, and *other Protestant trinitarian sects*, in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, is, that the latter attach the idea of individual personage to the three, as what they consider a fair logical inference from the doctrines expressly laid down in the Holy Scriptures. The people called Quakers, on the other hand, considering it a mystery beyond finite, human conception, *take up the doctrine* as expressly laid down in the Scripture, and have not considered themselves warranted in making deductions, however specious." He alleges, moreover, that the party which he calls Hicksites, do not believe in these fundamental doctrines, and that they have separated from the Society of Friends. They "have seceded," he says, "not only from the faith, but from the religious institutions and government of the Society of Friends, and the ancient Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia being continued by the Orthodox party aforesaid, they are identified with them in regular and due succession." He contends that the Orthodox Preparative Meeting at Crosswicks, to which he belongs, being subordinate to the ancient Yearly Meeting held at Arch Street, Philadelphia, is the rightful owner of the school-fund in question; and he prays the court for a decree requiring Thos. L. Shotwell to account to him for the amount of the bond.

Stacy Decow, appointed treasurer of the school-fund by the larger body of Friends at Crosswicks, filed a bill in answer to the Orthodox claims, in which he avers, that the Society of Friends, of which he is a member, acknowledges no head but Christ, and no principle of authority or government in the church but the love and power of God, operating on the

heart, and thence influencing the judgment, and producing a unity of feeling, brotherly sympathy, and condescension to each other. The great fundamental principle of the Society — the divine light and power operating on the soul — is acknowledged as the only bond of union. Under this holy influence the Society of Friends had been preserved in great harmony until lately, when a few individuals, who had long been continued in important stations, began to assume and arrogate an authority over their brethren never delegated to them: that they attempted to impose a creed upon the Society, and their design being frustrated, they enlisted a party assuming the title of "the Orthodox," and a line of discrimination was attempted to be drawn in the meetings of Friends, in order to fill every active station with those under their particular influence. The discipline of the Society was, through their means, violated or prostrated in order to screen transgressors of their own party, or to procure the disownment, upon vague and frivolous charges, of those who resisted their spirit and measures. Thus they continued to monopolize a power before unknown to the Society, — tending to the subversion of individual rights, — introducing great disorder and confusion, and preventing the proper administration of the discipline; particularly in the city of Philadelphia, where their chief strength was found.

"These acts," he says, "were continued until the Yearly Meeting of 1827, when their oppressive measures were pursued to such an extent, that it reduced the great majority of the Society to the necessity of submitting to their usurped domination, engaging in a contest which would be productive of increased disorder, or retiring from the said minority party,

and taking measures for the continuation and settling the Yearly Meeting on its original principles. The first course would have been a criminal abandonment of their rights and those of their posterity,—the second would have been subversive of their religious principles,—the third, however, was an inalienable right, guaranteed by the civil institutions of the country, and consistent with the original ground on which the Yearly Meeting was established. Thus by the mutual agreement and consent of Monthly and Quarterly meetings, the Yearly Meeting has been continued, and is again settled on the principles and according to the manner of its first institution, comprising a very large majority of its former members,—'who are united in the same system of discipline—maintaining the same testimonies, and *holding the same religious faith as their forefathers and the ancient Society of Friends did*,—leaving to their own course, undisturbed by them, those disorderly persons who adopted an opposite and adverse line of procedure.' "

Stacy Decow, in his answer, disclaims, on behalf of the Society to which he belongs, the name of Hicksites,—a name never assumed nor acquiesced in by them,—for they claim that only of *Friends*. They "deny being the followers of any man or set of men, simply claiming to be the humble disciples and followers of Christ, the great Head of the Church;" and allege that they still hold and are endeavoring to maintain and support the doctrines, fundamental religious principles, discipline, and rules of government of the ancient, religious Society of Friends. He further insists that the rights of property are sacred and inviolate, and cannot be taken from an

individual or a religious association without their consent,—and more especially that it cannot be made to depend on the test of any religious creed, framed after its vesting, and artfully prepared by a minority to answer its purposes.[1]

In a bill of Interpleader filed by Shotwell, in answer to the allegations of Hendrickson and the Orthodox party, he says, "the Preparative Meeting of Friends at Crosswicks claim to be at least two-thirds of the original subscribers and contributors to the said school-fund, and of their lawful representatives," and a lawful majority of the Friends or people called Quakers in the township of Chesterfield. Nevertheless, they have made overtures for an amicable adjustment in relation to property conformably to the principles of justice and equity; "but the Orthodox party have treated these offers with neglect, declaring themselves alone to be the true Orthodox church in which all the rights and property of the Society are vested."[2]

In pursuance of these "Pleadings in Chancery," a great mass of testimony from witnesses of both parties was taken and published in two octavo volumes, by Jeremiah J. Foster, Master and Examiner in Chancery. Frequent reference has been made to this testimony in the preceding chapters, as furnishing the best evidence we have in relation to the causes and manner of the separation.

The testimony of the Orthodox witnesses, as well as their bills in Chancery, dwelt much upon the doctrines they held, claiming, on that ground, that they

[1] Decow's Answer to Bill of Interpleader, Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 40 to 54.

[2] Bill of Interpleader, Foster's Report, Vol. I. pp. 15, 2

were the rightful successors of the Society of Friends, and imputing to their opponents, represented by Stacy Decow, erroneous doctrines and violations of the rules of discipline. The witnesses examined on the part of Decow, the defendant, while denying the charges made by the Orthodox, and asserting in general terms that they held the Christian principles professed by the early Friends, refused to answer interrogatories in relation to theological questions or doctrinal points, which they considered improper to be examined by a temporal tribunal.[1] In this course they were sustained by their counsel, one of whom, Eli K. Price, objected to such questions. He said, in reference to the Society of Friends, "It has never adopted a creed as the terms of the communion of its members: therefore what an individual under examination here might state to be the doctrines of the Society, would only be his own opinions of what they are, and not any conclusive evidence upon the subject. And we have the authority of the opposing witnesses, that the Society, as a religious body, is not responsible for the writings of its members, which have not been approved by a meeting for sufferings. If the testimony of any witness could go for more than his own opinion, it would be to establish for his brethren something in the nature of a creed, which he has no authority to do."[2]

The decision of the Court of Chancery was in favor of Hendrickson and the Orthodox party. The two judges, Ewing and Drake, pursuing different lines of argument, arrived at the same conclusion.

[1] Testimony of Abraham Lower, Foster's Report, I. 381.

[2] Foster's Report, I. p. 476.

Chief Justice Ewing, after reviewing the evidence in relation to the separation, concludes that the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, which convened in 1827 and closed its session to meet again at the usual time next year, was the true yearly meeting up *to the time of its adjournment.* John Comly by continuing to act as assistant clerk recognized it as such, and the Quarterly meetings recognized it also, by paying their several quotas of the sum directed to be raised to assist Friends in North Carolina. "The Yearly Meeting," he says, "having convened and closed in April, 1827, could not again convene, nor could any body possessing its powers and authorities convene until the same month of the succeeding year 1828. The place of meeting was fixed by the voice of the Yearly Meeting, which alone had the authority in this respect, and alone could change it." "There is no provision in the constitution for an intermediate, or, as it is commonly denominated, Special meeting, nor is authority given to the clerk, to any portion of the members, or invested anywhere else, to call such a meeting. Hence, it clearly follows, that, according to the constitution, the Yearly Meeting could not again assemble until 1828." * * * * For these and other reasons stated by the judge, he concludes that the Yearly Meeting which assembled at Arch Street house in 1828, was Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, and that the Preparative Meeting of Chesterfield, connected with and *subordinate to it*, was entitled to the school-fund. He rejoiced that he was not constrained to inquire into the charges of departure from the doctrines of Friends, so freely made against Green Street Meeting, but maintained the right of the court to as-

certain, by competent evidence, what are the religious principles of any man or set of men, when, as may frequently be the case, civil rights are thereon to depend, or thereby to be decided.[1]

Associate Justice Drake, after alluding to the separation in Chesterfield Preparative Meeting, and the withdrawal of the orthodox minority, proceeds to say, "If this Preparative Meeting were an *independent body*, acting without the influence of any conventional principle operating upon this point, the act of the minority on this occasion would not affect the powers of the majority who remained in session, however it might expose itself and the members composing it to disabilities. But the right to make appointments, and to exercise the other functions of the Preparative Meeting, would *still continue with the larger party.* But the Preparative Meeting is not an independent body, but a component part of the religious Society of Friends." The Preparative Meeting being accountable to the Monthly; the Monthly to the Quarterly; and the Quarterly to the Yearly Meeting; it becomes necessary to inquire which of the two bodies claiming to be the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, is legally entitled to the rights and properties claimed by both. In conducting this investigation, the judge maintains that the court may rightfully inquire into the badges of distinction by which the Society of Friends are known; and if they are characterized by established doctrines, it may inquire what these are, and whether they belong to one or both of these parties. He then proceeds to review the evidence by which Hendrickson and the

[1] See Opinion of Judge Ewing, Report of Trial, pp. 1 to 27.

Orthodox party endeavored to prove their agreement in doctrine with the founders of the Society, and says this agreement had not been denied by the opposite party. "Decow," he says, "has introduced several witnesses, who testify, and no doubt conscientiously, that they believe they hold the ancient faith of Friends, but they refuse to tell us what this faith is, in reference to these enumerated doctrines. We cannot give much weight to *opinion*, where we should have *facts*. The belief should refer to specific doctrines, that the court may judge as well as the witnesses, whether it was the ancient faith or not." * * * * "The court will not *force* either party in this cause to declare or prove their religious doctrines. But if doctrines be important, the party which would avail themselves of their doctrines must prove them. They are peculiarly within their knowledge, and although they may have the right to withhold them, yet if they do, they cannot expect success to their cause. The money must be awarded to the party which supports by proper proofs its pretensions to it. Under this view of the case, I deem it unnecessary to attempt any further investigation of the doctrines of the party called 'Hicksites.' And, if ascertained, I certainly would not inquire, as an officer of this court, whether they are right or wrong. It is enough that it *is not made to appear* that they correspond with the religious faith of the Society of Friends." * * * *

"Without coming to any conclusion with respect to *their* doctrines, I am of opinion that this fund should be awarded to that meeting which has shown, at least to my satisfaction, that they agree in doctrine

with the Society of Friends, as it existed at the origin of this trust."[1]

The decision of the Court of Chancery not being satisfactory to Stacy Decow and those whom he represented, he appealed to the Governor and Council sitting as a court of appeals at Trenton in the 7th month, 1833. His appeal was sustained by the arguments of his counsel Garret D. Wall and Samuel L. Southard; while Hendrickson and the orthodox party had for their counsel George Wood and Theodore Frelinghuysen. The importance of the cause, and the high reputation of the counsel employed, attracted great attention, and the sittings of the court were attended by a large and intelligent audience deeply interested in the result.

On the question being put, "Shall the decree of the chancellor in this cause be affirmed or reversed?" the votes were, seven for affirmance and four for reversal, and it was decided that each party pay his own costs.

After the judgment of the court was pronounced, affirming the chancellor's decree, the President made the following communication, which was directed to be placed on the minutes of the court.

"The court would most earnestly recommend to the parties interested in the present controversy, to make a speedy and amicable adjustment of their disputes and difficulties. We have always regretted to see these religious controversies brought into our courts of justice; it has a demoralizing influence on society; is a stumbling-block to the unconverted, and a source of great joy and rejoicing to the infidel. It

[1] Report of Trial, pp. 28 to 42.

is therefore the sincere desire of the court, that all parties concerned will make every effort in their power to effect a speedy compromise of their difficulties, on such just and equitable principles as may properly become those who profess to be influenced by the light within, the Spirit of God operating on sincere and honest hearts."

Certificates were subsequently given by the President of the court (Elias P. Seeley, Gov. of N. J.) and by all the counsellors, except one, that the decision in this case *was not founded on doctrinal points.* And six members of the court who voted for affirming the chancellor's decree certified that they adopted the same course of reasoning as that contained in the opinion of Chief Justice Ewing. In delivering his opinion, Judge Ewing had said, "I hope to be able to continue and close this investigation without any inquiry into religious faith or opinions."

Although the decree of the chancellor was affirmed, one of the main objects of the Orthodox party in bringing the suit was not attained: the closing recommendation of the court of appeals granted to the larger body of Friends all they asked or desired; that is, a compromise of their conflicting claims on just and equitable principles." This recommendation was in the year 1836 embodied in a law passed by the Legislature of New Jersey, which settled the controversy in regard to the property of the Society in that State.

It enacts and provides that, "In case of any division, secession or separation now existing in said unincorporated Society of Friends in this State on conscientious grounds, when both parties profess to adhere to the faith, system of discipline, constitution

and government of said Society when in unity, that then and in such cases, the personal and real estate of whatever kind (excepting burial-grounds) of said Society held for its use in trust or otherwise shall be divided between the parties in such division, secession or separation, in the same manner as if they were tenants in common of said estate," &c.

SECTION IV. "That the burial-grounds of said Society when in unity shall forever remain free and common for the burial of the members of either party and their descendants, the same as if no division, secession or separation had been made."

SECTION V. "And if in the course of proceedings it should become expedient to ascertain the number of members of said Society connected with the said parties respectively, and any member thereof shall be under the age of 21 years, such infant shall be counted with the party to which his or her father belongs, if he is living, and if not, to that which his or her mother belongs, if living, and if she is also dead, with the party to which his or her guardian belongs."

The Separation took place in New York Yearly Meeting in the 5th month, 1828, by the withdrawal of the Orthodox party, leaving the larger body in possession of the meeting-houses in the city. In the same year the separation extended to most of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings with the same result, a very large portion of the meeting-houses being left in possession of Friends by the withdrawal of the orthodox minority. In the city of New York, the Monthly Meeting assembled at Rose Street House, 6th month 4th, 1828, and after the usual time proceeded to business. Shortly after the opening of the

meeting, those called Orthodox, being a small minority, voluntarily withdrew, when the meeting unanimously agreed to appoint a committee to inform those who had seceded that Friends "were willing to do them justice in relation to the property belonging to the Monthly Meeting." The committee was continued four years, and conferred individually with a considerable number of the Orthodox party, assuring them of the disposition of the Monthly Meeting to do them justice, and inviting them to accept an equitable arrangement; but they could effect nothing; the other party invariably professing to consider themselves entitled to the possession of the whole property in question.

The Meeting for Sufferings in New York, on the 6th of 10th month, 1828, adopted the following minute: —

"The meeting having its attention turned to that part of the extracts received from the Yearly Meeting, which advises, 'That in all cases where the rights of property are involved, Friends carefully maintain our Christian character for justice and equity,' and in order to carry the same into effect the following Friends are appointed to confer with those who have separated from us, (commonly called Orthodox Friends,) and to inform them that the Meeting for Sufferings are disposed to come to an equitable settlement in relation to the property belonging to the Yearly Meeting.

"Committee,—Samuel Mott, Thomas Everit, Thos. Walker, John Barrow, Nathan Comstock, Jacob Haviland, and Whitehead Hicks."

To the above extract the committee subjoined the following notice: —"The committee above named

are individually ready to receive proposals from those styled Orthodox, and to meet them whenever desired so to do, for the purpose of a full and explicit arrangement.

"Signed on behalf of the committee, THOS. EVERIT."

This communication was sent to many of their leading members, and also published in a periodical of the day; but after a lapse of two years, the committee had to report that no reply had been received.

In the Winter of 1832, an influential member of the Orthodox party intimated to a Friend that they were willing to confer in an unofficial manner relative to the property. This was acceded to, and ten of each party met together for the purpose; when the Orthodox party made *verbally* a proposition to this effect: That one of the meeting-houses in the city should be surrendered to them with its adjacent property,—that they should continue to have, as they then had, the use of the burial-ground in common with us, and "that their members would then make *a verbal declaration* to us that with these possessions and immunities they would be entirely satisfied."

The ten Friends sent them in the 12th month, 1832, a written answer, in which, after reciting the proposition, they stated that they had carefully considered it, and made a pretty general exhibit of it to their fellow-members, and the result was, that it would be accepted, provided the Orthodox meeting would execute in their favor a quit-claim deed to the remainder of the property both real and personal; "and this," they added, "if more agreeable to you, might be done through the name of an individual so as to avoid the commitment, on your part, of a particle of your religious or social testimonies. Far be it from

us, to seek to draw from you an acknowledgment, in any the most remote degree, of our claim to the title of Friends or Quakers." * * * * * "We trust you will recognize in the above, an evidence of sincere amity and good feeling towards your Society, in which we subscribe ourselves your sincere friends. Signed, David S. Brown, William Wright, Robert Hicks, Isaac T. Hopper, Thos. Leggett, Jr., Thos. H. Legett, Samuel Willets, Samuel Hicks, George T. Trimble, Nathan Comstock."

To this communication they received no reply.

In the Tenth month, 1833, the Orthodox party in New York filed a Bill in Chancery for the recovery of all the property, with an application for an injunction, and the appointment of a receiver to take charge of the same; and in the 12th month following, the Monthly Meeting of *Friends* in the city, being apprised of this movement, appointed a committee, with full power either to compromise by amicable negotiation, or to defend the suit at law or in equity.

The Meeting for Sufferings also took up the subject, and with a view to an amicable settlement sent a deputation with a letter addressed "To the Meeting for Sufferings now sitting on Henry Street," — that being the place of meeting of those called Orthodox. But the meeting thus addressed declined to receive the communication.

The Chancery bill filed by the Orthodox party in New York was similar to that filed in New Jersey It contained the same confession of faith, and reiterated their oft-repeated charges against Elias Hicks and those they called his followers.

In the answer to this bill, filed by Friends as defendants, they deny the charges made by the Orthodox, and

affirm that their belief and that of the Yearly Meeting to which they belong is the same as that of the early Friends, which they state as follows: "The said Society of Friends, as appears from historical records, and the writings of early Friends, have always believed in the existence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that these three are one. That there is one holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who is the Father of all things; that appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old, at sundry times and in divers manners; and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting Wisdom, divine Power, true Light, only Saviour and Preserver of all, the same One, holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who, in the fulness of time took, and was manifest in the flesh; at which time he preached (and his disciples after him) the everlasting gospel of repentance and promise of remission of sins and eternal life to all that heard and obeyed; who said, he that is with you (in the flesh) shall be in you (by the Spirit), and though he left them (as to the flesh), yet not comfortless, for he would come to them again (in the Spirit), for the Lord Jesus Christ is that Spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal. In which Holy Spirit they believe, as the same almighty and eternal God."[1]

"In relation to the outward manifestation of Jesus Christ, they have always believed in the scripture testimony of his miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension: and they further believe, that 'he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.' Neither is there salvation in

[1] Penn's Innocency with her Open Face.

any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

"They also believe in the inspiration and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures; and that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished with all good works."

This statement of their belief was also inserted in another bill they filed in chancery the following year, in the same suit, and an addition was then made of some paragraphs from Bevan's Summary of the Doctrines of Friends, and W. Penn's Christian Quaker.[1]

In the First month, 1835, the chancellor gave his decision. After reviewing the grounds of the application for an injunction, made by the Orthodox party, he concludes in these words: "There being scarcely a colour or pretence for this application, on any of these grounds, I must refuse it with costs." One of the grounds alluded to, was the charge brought by the Orthodox party, that the defendants had departed from the doctrines of Friends. In relation to this, the chancellor remarks: "Their creeds, though somewhat differently expressed, are substantially and virtually the same, and on this subject, whatever dissensions may have been produced by a difference of opinion heretofore, there would really appear to be no room at this day for disputation or controversy."

It appears that the Friends who defended this suit acted judiciously in giving an exposition of their faith, which, though brief, is explicit.

A statement has been made in some publications

[1] See Extract from Bevan's Summary, in Chapter VI. of this treatise.

of the Orthodox party, that two suits were brought against them in the State of New York, soon after the separation, for property in their possession, belonging to the Society of Friends. In explanation of this matter the following facts are stated in a communication signed by Saml. Willets, on behalf of a committee of New York Monthly Meeting. At the time of the separation, the Nine-Partners' Boarding-school and Farm were under the care of a committee, nearly all of whom were *Friends*, (belonging to the larger body,) but they had placed a superintendent in charge, who took sides with the Orthodox party, and having barred the doors and windows, he refused admission to the committee that employed him. The trustee who held the title to the real estate, and a few individuals of the school committee, without the knowledge of the rest of the committee, proceeded so far as to have a writ of ejectment served on the superintendent; but no further proceedings were had in the case, for when it became known to the general committee, they promptly had the suit withdrawn.

The school property, together with a fund of $10,000, belonging to the institution, remained in possession of the Orthodox party. There was, however, another piece of land detached from the school property, but belonging to the institution, that the committee retained in their possession and leased to a tenant.

The other suit alluded to, was for $500 belonging to the Purchase school-fund. The treasurer had loaned it under such circumstances that he felt himself accountable for it, and brought the suit on his own responsibility without consulting the Meeting. He obtained a verdict in his favor, but through the aid of eminent counsel employed by the Orthodox

party, the cause was removed for a hearing in chancery.

The decision of the chancellor confirmed the verdict first obtained, with additional costs.

The burying-ground belonging to New York Monthly Meeting was used in common by both parties. The larger body retained the title in their hands, but immediately after the separation, their committee instructed the sexton to pay the same respect to the orders of the Orthodox committee as to their own, for the interment of the dead; and that party were informed that if they preferred to employ a sexton of their own, no objection would be made.[1]

It is highly gratifying to record the fact that an amicable settlement of the property question has been made between the two sections claiming to be the Monthly Meeting of Friends of New York city. In the 5th month, 1851, a committee appointed by the Monthly Meeting of Friends in that city reported that they had conveyed "to their brethren" called Orthodox Friends, a portion of the land lately purchased in the city of Brooklyn for a burying-ground, north of Twelfth Street; also seven lots of land on Christy Street, and three lots on Houston Street, in the city of New York. At the same time they received from the Orthodox Friends deeds releasing to them all right or claim to any portion of the property on Rose, and William, and Hester Streets; these being the lots on which were situated two meeting-houses in the city of New York, that Friends had occupied after the Separation. In making this arrangement,

[1] Bill in Chancery, New York, 5th m.o., 1834, by John Corlies, Ba. Corse, S. Willets, and others.

Friends believed they had conveyed to their Orthodox brethren their full proportion of the property, and they placed the offer they had made on the ground that it was a "voluntary peace-offering for the purpose of restoring and promoting good fellowship and kind feelings amongst brethren." This happy result has, in a good measure, been realized, not only in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, but wherever a similar course has been pursued.

Arrangements are now in progress to make an equitable division of the property that belonged to Baltimore Yearly Meeting at the time of the Separation. The number of those called Orthodox Friends being a small proportion of the whole, they withdrew at that time, and left the larger body in possession of the meeting-houses, except that at Hopewell in Frederick County, Va., which has been occupied jointly by both. The burial-grounds throughout the limits of the Yearly Meeting have been used in common by both sections without contention or hindrance from either.

The larger body, which holds its Yearly Meeting in Lombard Street meeting-house, Baltimore, has made overtures to the Orthodox Friends for an amicable settlement of the property question, as appears by the following extracts from its minutes, viz.:

"The Clerks were directed to insert in our Extracts, the following Report of the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings to that Body, respecting the division of Property with our Orthodox Brethren, viz.:

To the Meeting for Sufferings:

The Committee appointed at our last Meeting, upon the subject of the division of Property with the other branch of Society, Report that on the 20th of the 1st month last, they addressed to our

Orthodox Friends, a Communication, of which the following is a copy, viz.:

To the Meeting for Sufferings which represents the Yearly Meeting of Friends that meets at Courtland Street, Baltimore.

Dear Friends,—We have been appointed a Committee by our Meeting for Sufferings, to endeavor to carry into effect the object embraced in the following minute, which was adopted by our late Yearly Meeting, viz.:

'The Meeting for Sufferings is directed to open communication with the other part of Society, commonly called our Orthodox Friends, for an equitable division of all the property we now hold, which was formerly jointly held by them and us, according to the number of members of the two branches at the time of the separation; and, if amicable arrangements to that end can be effected, to pay them the amount that may be agreed upon, as their just share of all the property held by us.'

We think it proper to state, that it has been the desire of some of us, for many years past, that a course of this kind should be pursued, and efforts to that end have been heretofore made; but the body of our Society was not then prepared to adopt the measure. It therefore seemed right, in order to move in that harmony which is so beautiful and healthful in a religious organization, to wait, as for the hindmost of the Flock, remembering the sacred injunction, 'He that believeth, shall not make haste,' and remain alive under the concern, till the opposition should be removed.

We are now favored to be able to say, that this desired period has arrived. The preceding minute was adopted by our late Yearly Meeting, with entire unanimity. Not one voice was opposed thereto.

Now, dear Friends, it is our ardent desire, that the proposition of our Yearly Meeting, thus made, may be entertained by you, in the same kind and conciliatory spirit in which it is tendered; and of this, we have no reason whatever to doubt. And moreover, we hope and trust, that the reciprocal exercise of kind and good feeling, in the amicable adjustment of this subject, may be the means of bringing us closer and closer to each other, in kindness and charity, by bringing us nearer and nearer to God, in the bonds of His love.

The present communication is made in entire frankness, and

with strict integrity of purpose, and, if we know our own hearts, in true brotherly and Christian feeling, in which we can subscribe ourselves your sincere Friends,

BENJN. HALLOWELL,
SAMUEL TOWNSEND,
SAMUEL M. JANNEY,
DAVID G. McCOY,
BENJN. P. MOORE,
JOSEPH MATTHEWS,
RICHARD H. TOWNSEND, and
GERARD H. REESE.

Baltimore, 1st Month 20th, 1865.

On behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings which represents Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, that meets at Lombard Street.

To which communication we received the following reply, viz.:

To Benjamin Hallowell and others, Committee on behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings which represents the Yearly Meeting of Friends that meets at Lombard Street.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We have considered the communication addressed to our Meeting for Sufferings, by you, as a Committee of your Meeting.

There was not time to call our Meeting together, but as members of it, we frankly state our views, which we believe to be those of our other members.

The proposition embraced in the minute of your Yearly Meeting, is acceptable to us, and we are prepared, with the consent of our meeting, to carry it out in the same Christian spirit in which we believe it has been proposed.

We cordially reciprocate the kind and brotherly feelings which you have expressed, and remain your friends.

R. M. JANNEY,
FRANCIS T. KING,
JAMES CAREY,
JAMES CAREY THOMAS,
JESSE TYSON,
MILES WHITE,
THOS. R. MATTHEWS.

Baltimore, 1st Month 20th, 1865.

Four members of our Committee, by appointment, subsequently had a very satisfactory personal interview with four of these

Friends, during which they expressed a willingness to unite with us in an application to the Maryland Legislature for power to sell and convey the Fair Hill Boarding School Property, and to aid in selling the Pasture Lot, and in the valuation of the Lombard Street Property. Indeed, a disposition was gratifyingly manifested to do their full part to carry out the arrangement proposed by our Yearly Meeting.

From the length of time that has since elapsed, the Committee believe it to be impracticable to ascertain, with entire precision, the number of members of the two branches at the time of the separation; but our Orthodox Friends, in our interview with them, expressed their belief, that the relation was about one to four, which would give one-fifth, or twenty per cent. for their share, and that they were willing to settle upon this basis; and although, from the best estimates we have been able to gain, this is a *large* proportion, yet the Committee have thought it best, for the sake of that precious harmony that happily exists between the Representatives of the two branches, who have had intercourse with each other upon the subject, and which harmony we desire may increase and extend, to recommend to the Meeting for Sufferings, that a settlement be authorized with them in this proportion.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

BENJ'N. P. MOORE,
DAVID G. McCOY.

Baltimore, 3d Month 11th, 1865.

This Report, upon being read and considered, was approved and adopted by the Meeting for Sufferings, and the Committee was continued, and authorized and directed to divide the property with our Orthodox Friends, upon the terms contained in the Report; that is, to pay them one-fifth of the net proceeds of the sale of the Fair Hill Boarding School Property, one-fifth of the net proceeds of the sale of the Pasture Lot, and one-fifth of one-half the valuation that may be agreed upon of the Lombard Street Meeting House Property, these three pieces of property being all that is embraced in the minute of our Yearly Meeting, under which we are acting."

This arrangement, it will be observed, relates only to the property held by the Yearly Meeting, which

includes one-half of the Lombard Street meeting-house, the other half belongs to the Monthly Meeting of Baltimore. The property belonging to the several Monthly meetings remains mostly in the possession of the larger body, and the burial-grounds are used in common by both.

The cordial feelings manifested in the foregoing correspondence will probably lead to an amicable settlement of the property question in the several Monthly meetings, and must have a favorable influence in promoting mutual kindness between parties, who, in so many points of doctrine and discipline, are in agreement.

In closing the history of the Separation of Friends in America, the mournful consideration presents itself, that nearly all the prominent actors engaged in it have passed away from this stage of existence. May we not hope that in the clearer atmosphere of the spiritual world, those who differed here, will no longer "see as through a glass darkly," but, coming face to face, will discover in each other those pure principles and heavenly affections which are the fruits of the Spirit, uniting every member of the Church to its glorious Head, Christ Jesus.

It is not in entire uniformity of religious opinions that the harmony and prosperity of the Church must be sought, for the indwelling and government of the Spirit of Christ can alone enable his dedicated followers "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."











